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Editorial

Richard Gombrich

First, welcome to readers. I hope we shall receive reactions to this new journal, so that future volumes are lively, even controversial. Letters for publication should be sent to me: richard.gombrich@balliol.ox.ac.uk. Setting up book reviews takes time, so that in this volume there are only two of them, but in future I hope to have more. I would also like to publish reactions to such academic events as conferences; I devote most of this editorial to a specimen.

The lopsided state of Buddhist studies

As reported in the September *Newsletter* of the OCBS, I attended the 16th congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies (IABS), held this year in Taiwan on 20-25 June. Our hosts were Dharma Drum Buddhist College (President: Ven. Prof. Hui Min Bhikshu).

To explain my remarks, I have to repeat a few facts which I have already recorded in the Newsletter. There were 102 panels, spread over five and a half days, and some five hundred papers. Obviously no individual could do more than sample so many offerings. Moreover, since only those giving papers were listed, I have to guess the total number of participants. I thus cannot claim comprehensive knowledge of the proceedings. But I believe I know enough for my observations to be well grounded in fact.

In brief, I wish to comment on, and deplore, two phenomena. The first is the eclipse of studies of early Buddhism and of Theravāda. The second is the relative eclipse of what I would call historical studies, at least before the modern period. I believe the second eclipse to be related to the first. In both cases, I am referring to *quantity* and making no judgment about quality, though ultimately I suppose that a decline in quantity cannot but lead to a decline in quality.

While one expected a conference held in Taiwan to emphasise East Asian, especially Chinese, Buddhism, the dearth of papers on early Buddhism and on Theravāda was surprising. No panel was devoted either to Pali or to Theravāda. Less than half a dozen papers used Pali sources, and the few papers on Theravādin topics were mostly on culture (e.g., art history, *Jātaka* performance). Moreover, while I could not identify every name, I believe that no paper was given by anyone who currently teaches in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Laos or Kampuchea; nor did any member of the Thai Sangha speak. India too was poorly represented.

I must make it clear that I am absolutely sure that the organizers had no bias against Theravādin topics or scholars; I believe that they more or less took what they were offered. So how is this startling imbalance is to be explained?

Some have offered me an economic explanation: that scholars from South and Southeast Asia cannot afford long journeys or attendance at relatively costly conferences. There may be some truth in this, and in so far as the explanation lies in practical issues, I think that those who are running this *International* Association must rapidly devise means to mitigate the problem. My concerns here, however, are cultural and intellectual.

Academic life in each of the countries in this region has its own history and its own problems. But well informed and sympathetic friends have given me their view that in SE Asia there is a terrible lack of intellectual curiosity about such matters, even at times amounting to an assumption that Buddhists in those countries have nothing to learn from foreigners, since the local Sangha already knows all that there is to be known. Comment is hardly needed; but I believe that to a large extent this attitude reflects inadequate knowledge of English (and other foreign languages): it assuages feelings of inferiority to assume that foreign language sources could provide neither intellectual nor spiritual benefit, and in particular no new insight into Buddhism. Will the authorities wake up before Theravāda Buddhism disappears from the academic map of the world?

Much is at stake, for the current situation has already descended into absurdity. If we count those who were not in the programme because they did not present papers, and the vast number of attendants and assistants, many of them monks and nuns, there must have been about 750 people at the congress. The great majority of them have built their lives, both personal and professional, on the Buddha – even if some academics would say it is on Buddhist teachings, not on the Buddha as a person. And yet the Buddha was barely mentioned, indeed treated almost as unmentionable.

Can one imagine a conference of 500 papers on Christianity in which no one talked about Jesus? Or a conference of that size on Islam in which Mohammed was passed over in silence? So why is the study of Buddhism in this mess? I am well aware that some people object to taking the Buddha as a historical figure, claiming that we can know nothing about him for sure because he wrote nothing down. But what did Jesus or Mohammed write? Yet no one in their senses has claimed that they did not live and teach, or that we cannot know their ideas.

Of course, we cannot know all the ideas or the whole truth, in any sense, about any of these great figures who have moved the world. Scholars will argue about these matters until the end of time, using evidence and reason. So why does this not apply to the Buddha nowadays?

In my book *What the Buddha Thought* I have tackled these questions head on. In chapter 6, "Assessing the Evidence", I have explained how absurd it is to claim that because we cannot finally prove anything about the Buddha we do not "know" anything about him. Not only is this true of all historical knowledge; it is true of *all* empirical knowledge, knowledge about the world. When we say that we know something, what that means is that that is *the best hypothesis available*. It is always possible that discovery of new evidence or of a flaw in the reasoning will falsify that knowledge and replace it by a better hypothesis; but the quest for knowledge, i.e., for better hypotheses, must forever continue, if intellectual life is not to die out.

Alas, postmodernism has quite misunderstood this situation. It casts doubt on whether there is such a thing as objective knowledge. To remind us that much depends on the point of view can be a useful corrective; but to say that a historical date, for example, is not an objective fact is to throw out the baby with the bath-water. That the twin towers in Manhattan were destroyed on 11 September 2001 is not just a matter of subjective opinion.

To apply this to the Buddha, the fact that a man who had a certain specific set of ideas lived at a certain specific time is not falsified by the fact that we can (and should) argue about what exactly those ideas were or when exactly he was born and died. It is helpful to consider this negative angle, and recall that there are a huge number of ideas that we can be rather sure that he did *not* have, and many years during which we can be sure that he was *not* alive. So to say that we can know nothing about him – even whether such a man existed – is ridiculous. And yet postmodernism has become so fashionable, particularly in North America, that it has undermined Buddhist historical studies.

Let me amplify this. In the *Preface* to my book I argue "that we can know far more about the Buddha than it is fashionable among scholars to admit, and that his thought has a greater coherence than is usually recognized." In fact, I argue that he "was one of the most brilliant and original thinkers of all time." (p. vii) Whether one agrees with this valuation is not the point: the point is that he was undoubtedly original and that his ideas form a coherent system. I summarise that system in the final chapter, and comment: "…according to the fashionable [postmodernist] view … Buddhism … is a ball which was set rolling by someone whose ideas are not known and … can never be known. So the intellectual edifice which I have described came together by a process of accumulation, rather like an avalanche." (p. 194)

I defy anyone to point to an ideology, philosophy or system of ideas which has made its mark on human history and culture and cannot be attributed to an individual, however much it may have been modified later. Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Hume, Marx – to name just a few of the greatest – all of them, whether right or wrong, for better or for worse, were creative thinkers, who though indebted to predecessors put forward coherent visions of the world for which they were individually responsible.

Not to recognise the Buddha as belonging to that company seems to me to be not just a stupid error. It has at least two effects which I find disastrous for our field of study. The first, as I say in my book, is that since so much of the evidence for the Buddha's thought comes from the Pali Canon (and not from later sources), the current (comparative) neglect of Pali studies is unfortunate, to say the least.

But this point can be subsumed within an even larger one. If we insist that we cannot know what the Buddha thought and taught, we have no baseline for the history of Buddhist ideas. The history of ideas is, surely, to trace influences, which must go in hand with trying to locate ideas in time and space. In my view there was far too little history at the congress and too much pure description. It is OK to be told about the content of a text; but if it is really interesting I can go and read it myself. What I want to know from the scholar who has studied it is where it can be placed in a chain of development, and (if possible) why. That includes, *inter alia*, discussing where the author has misrepresented inherited material, whether intentionally or not; where he has himself been misrepresented by later authors; and where, if anywhere, he has dared to be original.

The Buddha pointed out that all things in this world undergo change: that history is a process, or rather a set of processes, neither entirely determined nor

entirely random. I would like the study of Buddhism to focus more on this insight, and also to remember that by definition our subject must begin with the Buddha himself.

Two Notes to Readers

Our editorial policy is set out on the web site www.ocbs.org. I need to add something. Our normal word limit for articles is ten thousand words, though we would be prepared to consider publishing a longer piece in two parts. We are also, however, glad to publish new primary sources – of which the article by Paola Tinti in this volume offers an example – and in this case there is no word limit.

Finally, I must apologise for the last minute change of this journal's title. We were informed on 3 October that the title "The Oxford Journal of … " is reserved (presumably by copyright) for publications of the Oxford University Press.

Brahmā's Invitation: the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* in the Light of its *Madhyama-āgama* Parallel*

Anālayo

The present article begins by surveying the role of the ancient Indian god Brahmā in the early Buddhist discourses as exemplifying a tendency referred to in academic research as "inclusivism". A prominent instance of this tendency can be found in the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* of the Pāli canon, which reports that Brahmā intervened to persuade the recently awakened Buddha to teach. This episode is absent from a *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta*, of which I provide a partial translation. The translation is followed by a brief evaluation of this difference between the two parallel records of the events surrounding the Buddha's awakening.

Brahmā in Early Buddhism

The way the denizens of the ancient Indian pantheon appear in early Buddhist texts exemplifies a mode of thought that scholars have called "inclusivism".[1] The term inclusivism refers to a tendency to include, although in a subordinate position and at times with significant modifications, central elements of other religious traditions within the framework of one's own.

The role of the ancient Indian god Brahmā in early Buddhist texts is a good example of the way this strategy of inclusivism operates. Two main trends can be discerned. Several passages mock the claim that Brahmā is an all-knowing and

* I am indebted to Rod Bucknell, Christian Luczanits, Shi Kongmu, Giuliana Martini, Jan Nattier, Ken Su and Monika Zin for comments and suggestions on a draft of the present paper. It goes without saying that I am solely responsible for whatever errors still remain.

[1] Cf. the articles collected in Oberhammer 1983 (esp. the paper by Hacker), as well as Mertens 2004, Kiblinger 2005 and Ruegg 2008: 97–99.

JOCBS. 2011 (1): 12–38. © 2011 Anālayo

eternal creator god, while in other discourses a Brahmā by the name of Sahampati acts as a guardian of Buddhism.[2]

An instance of the tendency to satirize Brahmā, or more precisely to satirize Brahmās, as in Buddhist texts we meet with several manifestations of this god, can be found in the Brahmajāla-sutta and its parallels preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translation as well as in Sanskrit fragments. The discourse professes to explain, tongue-in-cheek, how the idea of a creator god came into being.[3]

Behind the explanation proffered in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its parallels stands the ancient Indian cosmological conception of the world system going through cycles of dissolution and evolution. Once a period of dissolution is over, the celestial Brahmā realm reappears and a particular living being, in accordance with its merits, is reborn into this realm. This living being at some point feels lonely and develops a wish for company. In the course of time, other living beings are also reborn in this Brahmā world, in accordance with their merits. The living being arisen first in the Brahmā world now reasons that its wish for company must have been what caused those other living beings to appear in the Brahmā world. This misconception then leads to the first living being's claim to be the creator of the others, a claim the other beings accept as fact and truth.

In this way, the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its parallels parody a creation myth similar to what is found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[4] As this example shows, early Buddhism does not flatly deny the existence of a creator god, but instead

[2]Bailey 1983: 14 explains that "Brahmā is treated in two distinct ways; either he is bitterly attacked, or he is portrayed as a zealous devotee of the Buddha"; cf. also Anālayo 2003. In what follows, I take into account only instances found in more than one textual tradition, thus passages preserved only in the Pāli canon are left aside.

[3]The relevant passage can be found in DĀ 21 at T I 90b21, T 21 at T I 266b15, Weller 1934: 22, 29 (§60), and in discourse quotations in T 1548 at T XXVIII 657a19 and D 4094 *ju* 145a1 or Q 5595 *tu* 166b4; cf. also Gombrich 1996: 81 and Collins 2011: 32f; for a comparative study and a translation of DĀ 21 cf. Anālayo 2009a.

[4]This has been pointed out by Gombrich 1990: 13 and Norman 1991/1993: 272. The criticism of such indications made by Bronkhorst 2007: 207–218 relies on his assigning some of the early discourses to a relatively late period, based on a reference in MN 93 at MN II 149,4 to Yona, which to him (p. 209) "suggests that the passage which contains this reference was composed after – perhaps long after – the conquest of Alexander the Great". I am under the impression that this need not be the case. Already Bühler 1895/1963: 27 note 1 points out that, given that an Indian contingent formed part of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes (480 BC), once these Indians had returned home it would be only natural for Indian texts to reflect knowledge of the Ionians (i.e., the reference is not to Bactrian Greeks), cf. in more detail Anālayo 2009b and for a survey of similar indications made by other scholars Anālayo 2011a: 552 note 116.

purports to explain how this notion arose, namely as the outcome of a deluded Brahmā's belief that beings arose in his realm in compliance with its wish for company. With a good dose of humour, the psychologically intriguing point is made by presenting the notion of a creator god as an inventive response to loneliness.

Another discourse features a direct confrontation between a Brahmā and the Buddha, culminating in a contest. In this contest, each of the two tries to manifest his respective power in a celestial version of "hide and seek"; that is, each attempts to vanish from the other's sight. While Brahmā fails to go beyond the Buddha's range of vision, the Buddha completely disappears from the sight of Brahmā and the heavenly assembly.[5]

By depicting the Buddha's ability to trump Brahmā in regard to invisibility, the discourse not only asserts the superiority of the Buddha, but also appears to be punning on what may have been a common aspiration among Brahmins, namely the wish to gain a personal vision of Brahmā.[6]

The superior power of the Buddha comes up again in relation to another Brahmā, who believes himself to be of such might that nobody else can reach his realm. His complacent belief is thoroughly shattered when the Buddha and several of his disciples manifest themselves seated in the air above this Brahmā.[7] Needless to say, the position and height of seats in ancient Indian customs express the hierarchical positioning of those seated.[8] Hence the image of Brahmā unexpectedly finding the Buddha and some monks seated above him would not have failed to have its comic effect on the audience, while at the same time summing up the message of the discourse in a succinct image easily remembered in an oral society.

Another episode describes how the Great Brahmā encounters a Buddhist monk who requests an answer to the ageless question about what transcends the

[5]MN 49 at MN I 330, 7 and MĀ 78 at T I 548c10; on this discourse cf. also Gombrich 2001, for a comparative study of the two versions cf. Anālayo 2011a: 294–299.

[6]This would be reflected in an episode in DN 29 at DN II 237,3, DĀ 3 at T I 32a28 and the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 209, 13, which reports how a Brahmin steward, because of his dexterous way of carrying out his duties, is believed to have personally seen Brahmā, which then inspires him to retire into seclusion and practise so as to indeed have such direct communion with Brahmā; cf. also Sanskrit fragment 530sV in Schlingloff 1961: 37. Another parallel, T 8 at T I 210c19, differs in not reporting the belief that he had already seen Brahmā.

[7]SN 6.5 at SN I 144,17 and its parallels SĀ 1196 at T II 324c22 and SĀ² 109 at T II 412c22. In SN 6.5 the Buddha and the monks even emanate fire.

[8]Nichols 2009: 54 comments, on the present instance, that in the Pāli version "the Buddha, significantly, appears directly above the Brahmā, giving a spatial demonstration of his superiority".

world, formulated in terms of where the four elements of earth, water, fire and wind cease without remainder.[9] The monk had already proceeded through different celestial realms recognized in the ancient Indian cosmology, seeking a reply to his question. His inquiry remained unanswered, as the denizens of each heavenly realm directed him onwards to the next higher realm for a reply to his query.

When he finally reaches the presence of the Great Brahmā, the answer he receives is that the Great Brahmā is supreme in the whole world. The monk is not satisfied with this self-affirming declaration and insists on being instead given a proper reply to his question. When the Great Brahmā realizes that he is not able to get around this inquisitive monk by simply insisting on his own superiority, the Great Brahmā takes the monk aside and confides that he does not know the answer to the monk's query. Yet the Great Brahmā cannot admit this in public, as this would be upsetting to the other gods, who believe that Great Brahmā knows everything.

This amusing description of the Great Brahmā being forced to admit his own ignorance in private culminates with the Great Brahmā telling the monk that, to find an answer to his question, he should return to where he came from and ask the Buddha. In other words, with the help of an entertaining tale the audience is told that, in order to get a proper reply to their quest for going beyond the world, viz. Nirvāṇa, they should turn to the Buddha.

These four tales vividly illustrate the tendency in early Buddhist discourse to mock the notion of Brahmā as an all-knowing creator god of supreme might.[10] In addition to this satirical strand, however, the early Buddhist discourses also feature a Brahmā in the role of a protector of Buddhism. In the Pāli discourses, this Brahmā bears the name of Sahampati, although the parallel versions often do not give his name.

Several discourses report how this Brahmā approves the Buddha's decision to honour nobody else,[11] instead according the place of honour to the Dharma that

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[9] DN 11 at DN I 221,3, Sanskrit fragment 388v7 in Zhou 2008: 7, DĀ 24 at T I 102b18 (translated in Meisig 1995: 194) and D 4094 *ju* 64a2 or Q 5595 *tu* 71a4; cf. also SHT X 3805 and 3926 in Wille 2008: 181f and 221f. Kiblinger 2005: 40 takes up the present instance as an example for Buddhist inclusivism towards Vedic religion, where "belief in the Vedic gods continues, but not without some new qualifications that position them much lower within the Buddhist system".

[10] According to McGovern 2011, such criticism raised against Brahmā as a creator god appears to have in turn had repercussions on this very notion in the Brahminical tradition.

[11] SN 6.2 at SN I 139,7 or AN 4.21 at AN II 20, 14 and their parallels SĀ 1188 at T II 321c27, SĀ[2] 101 at T II 410a13 and D 4094 *nyu* 85a3 or Q 5595 *thu* 131a3; cf. also T 212 at T IV 718c1.

he has discovered. In this way, Brahmā explicitly endorses the notion that the Buddha is supreme in the world, a message similar to that conveyed in the tales examined above. Instead of a deluded Brahmā whose defeat and discomfiture convey this message, here we encounter a properly domesticated Brahmā who knows his place ... in the Buddhist thought world, that is.

This Brahmā also voices his support of Buddhism in poetic form on another occasion by extolling the life of a seriously practising Buddhist monk.[12] Another instance shows this Brahmā taking a close interest in the welfare of the Buddhist order by intervening in order to reconcile the Buddha with a group of unruly monks.[13] At the time of the Buddha's passing away, this Brahmā is again present and pronounces a stanza suitable for the occasion.[14]

The support given to the Buddhist cause by this Brahmā becomes particularly prominent in the autobiographical account of the Buddha's awakening, recorded in the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta*.[15] According to this discourse, having just gained awakening, the Buddha was hesitant to teach others what he had discovered. On becoming aware of the Buddha's disinclination to teach, Brahmā Sahampati appeared before the Buddha and requested him to teach, proclaiming that there would be those who would understand.[16]

The scene of Brahmā standing with his hands in the traditional gesture of respect to one side of the Buddha sitting in meditation became a favourite topic of ancient Indian art, exemplifying the central theme that underlies this episode: the superiority of the Buddha to Brahmā and thereby of the Buddha's teaching to Brahminical beliefs.[17] The motif is already current during the aniconic period,

[12] SN 6.13 at SN I 154,16 and its parallels SĀ 1191 at T II 322c24 and SĀ² 104 at T II 411a11.

[13] MN 67 MN I 458, 16 and one of its parallels, EĀ 45.2 at T II 771a12; a comparative study of this discourse and its parallels can be found in Anālayo 2011a: 367–370.

[14] DN 16 at D II 157,3 and a *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* fragment, Waldschmidt 1951: 398, 22 (§44.6), T 6 at T I 188c12 and T 7 at T I 205b5; SN 6.15 at SN I 158, 26 and its parallels SĀ 1197 at T II 325b20 and SĀ² 110 at T II 414a3.

[15] MN 26 at MN I 160ff; for a study of this discourse cf. Walters 1999.

[16] As pointed out by Bailey 1983: 175–186 (cf. also Jones 2009: 98f) and Zin 2003: 309, for Brahmā to intervene in this way is in keeping with his role in brahminical texts, where he encourages Vālmīki to compose the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bhatt 1960: 25,3 (1.2.22), Vyāsa to teach the *Mahābhārata* (according to one of several accounts of the origins of this work), Sukthankar 1933: 884,3 (Appendix 1.1) , and Bharata to start the performance of theatre, according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Kedārnāth 1943: 3,9 (1.24).

[17] Schmithausen 2005: 172 note 19 explains that by inviting the Buddha to teach, Brahmā is "implicitly urging his own worshippers, the Brahmans, to acknowledge the superiority of the Buddha and his teaching". Gombrich 2009: 183 comments that "the Buddhist claim to supersede brahmin

when the presence of the Buddha appears to have been indicated only symbolically.[18] One specimen from Gandhāra shows only the empty seat of awakening under a tree, flanked on both sides by the gods Brahmā and Indra, who, with their hands in the traditional gesture of respect, appear to be inviting the Buddha to teach (see Figure 1).[19]



Figure 1: *Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum*

teaching could not be more blatant", cf. also Gombrich 1996: 21. Nichols 2009: 52 adds that "the motif of Brahmā pleading for the presence of the *dhamma* in the world shows the supposed creator's helplessness" to bring about the same without the Buddha.

[18] Cf. the arguments advanced by Dehejia 1991 and Linrothe 1993 in reply to Huntington 1985 and Huntington 1990.

[19] The sculpture is at present in the British Museum, London.

The tendency to depict the Buddha being worshipped by Brahmā as well as Indra is pervasive in sculptures,[20] including reliquaries.[21] In some cases it remains uncertain if a particular image is intended to portray the request to teach, or whether it may be just a scene of worship in general.[22]

In another specimen from Gandhāra, however, the Buddha is clearly shown in a reflective pose, supporting his head with his right arm, which in turn is supported by his raised knee. Although this posture is frequently used for bodhisattva images,[23] the monkish dress in combination with the *uṣṇīṣa* make it clear that the central figure is the Buddha. The seat and the tree in the background suggest the seat of awakening and on each side of the Buddha, at a little distance, stand Brahmā and Indra, who share with the Buddha the feature of being haloed. Between Indra and the Buddha, a little to the back, we also find Vajrapāṇi.[24]

The proposed identification of this image as depicting "the pensive Buddha who is being requested to teach the Dharma" appears at first glance not entirely straightforward.[25] The Buddha is surrounded by five monks, while Brahmā and Indra – supposedly major figures in the present scene – stand at some distance from him. On the Buddha's right two monks are turned towards him with their hands held in the gesture of worship. On his left another three monks are standing, of whom the one closest to the Buddha may also be in the same respectful gesture, while the next one turns back towards his companion, as if he were hesitating or in doubt, needing to be urged on by the fifth in the group.

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[20] Several representations in Gandhāran art are collected in Kurita 1988: 77–79 and 125–136; cf. also Foucher 1905: 421–427. A study of the role of Indra in Buddhist texts as another instance of inclusivism can be found in Anālayo 2011b.

[21] A well-known example is the Kaniṣka reliquary; cf., e.g., van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1949: 98–101, the description in Dobbins 1971: 25 and the photograph in Huntington 2001: 134.

[22] Rhi 1994: 220 note 60.

[23] For a survey cf. Lee 1993.

[24] In Gandhāran art Vajrapāṇi and Indra are distinct from each other, cf. Foucher 1905: 564, Senart 1906: 122, Vogel 1909: 525, Konow 1930, Coomaraswamy 1971: 31, Santoro 1979: 301; cf. also Lamotte 1966. In the Pāli commentarial tradition, however, these two are identical, cf., e.g., Sv I 264,12.

[25] The relief, which is now found in the Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif, Pakistan, has been identified in Luczanits 2008: 226 catalogue number 165 as "der nachdenkliche Buddha wird gebeten, den Dharma zu lehren".



Figure 2: *Courtesy Christian Luczanits*

The fact that the monks are five in number, together with the impression that not all of them are filled with the same degree of confidence, suggests that the scene may represent the Buddha's encounter with what were to become his first five monk disciples, an episode narrated in the latter part of the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel. The two versions agree that although the five monks had decided not to show respect to the Buddha, as they thought he had given up his striving for liberation, when he actually approached they did receive him with respect.

Given that in Indian and Central Asian art successive events are at times represented in a single image,[26] the present piece could be combining the request to teach by Brahmā and Indra with a pictorial reference to his being received by those who were the first to benefit from the Buddha's acceptance of this request.

[26] Cf., e.g., Schlingloff 1981.

Coming back to the textual sources, records of the present episode in the early discourses and in several biographies preserved in Chinese translation mention only an intervention by Brahmā alone, without referring to Indra.[27] The same is true of several Vinaya accounts.[28] According to the Mahāvastu, however, Brahmā came together with Indra.[29] The same is also stated in the *Jātaka Nidānakathā*.[30] This gives the impression that for Brahmā to be accompanied by Indra could be a subsequent stage in the evolution of this motif, which in turn influenced representations in art.

In view of the widespread occurrence of this episode in art and literature, it comes as a surprise that the only known complete discourse parallel to the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* does not mention Brahmā at all. This parallel is found in a *Madhyama-āgama* collection preserved in Chinese translation, which according to modern scholarship can be assigned to the Sarvāstivāda tradition.[31] In what follows, I translate the first part of the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse.[32]

Translation

The Discourse at Ramma[ka]'s [Hermitage][33]

[27] MN 26 at MN I 168,18 (repeated in MN 85 at MN II 93,26 and SN 6.1 at SN I 137,12), *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* fragment, Waldschmidt 1957: 112,14 (§8.9), and EĀ 19.1 at T II 593b3 (translated in Bareau 1988: 78); cf. also, e.g., T 185 at T III 480b2, T 189 at T III 643a3, T 190 at T III 806a13 and T 191 at T III 953a1.

[28] Cf. the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 786c24; the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 103c23; the (Mūla)-Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Gnoli 1977: 129,6 (cf. also T 1450 at T XXIV 126b22 and the Tibetan parallel, Waldschmidt 1957: 113,14 (§8.7)); and the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Vin I 5,21.

[29] Senart 1897: 315,1. In the *Lalitavistara*, Brahmā is rather accompanied by his retinue, Lefmann 1902: 394,8 (cf. also T 186 at T III 528b4 and T 187 at T III 603b5).

[30] Jā I 81,10. Stanzas with which Indra (Sakka) and then Brahmā invite the Buddha to teach can be found in SN 11.17 at SN I 233,32, a discourse which, however, gives Jeta's Grove as the location.

[31] On the school affiliation of this collection cf., e.g., Lü 1963: 242, Waldschmidt 1980: 136, Enomoto 1984, Mayeda 1985: 98, Enomoto 1986: 21, Minh Chau 1991: 27 and Oberlies 2003: 48.

[32] The translated part of MĀ 204 begins at T I 775c7 and ends at T I 777b11. Translations of this part of MĀ 204, taken section by section, can be found in Bareau 1963: 14f, 24f, 28, 72 and 145 and in Minh Chau 1991: 153–156 and 245–248.

[33] The Pāli editions differ on the title. While E^e and C^e have the title *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta*, the "Discourse on the Noble Search", B^e and S^e give the title as *Pāsarāsi-sutta*, the "Discourse on the Heap of Snares", referring to a simile that describes a deer caught in snares, found in the latter part of the discourse.

1.[34] Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was dwelling at Sāvatthī, in the Eastern Garden, the Mansion of Migāra's Mother.[35]

3. At that time, in the afternoon the Blessed One emerged from sitting in seclusion, came down from the top of the mansion and said to the venerable Ānanda: "I shall now go together with you to the river Aciravatī to bathe". The venerable Ānanda replied: "Yes, certainly".

The venerable Ānanda took hold of a door-opener and went to all the huts.[36] He told all the monks he saw: "Venerable ones, you could all gather at the house of the Brahmin Ramma[ka]." On hearing this the monks gathered at the house of the Brahmin Ramma[ka].

The Blessed One, followed by the venerable Ānanda, went to the Aciravatī river. He took off his robes, placed them on the bank and entered the water to bathe. Having bathed, he came out again, wiped his body [dry] and put on his robes.[37]

At that time the venerable Ānanda was standing behind the Blessed One, holding a fan and fanning the Buddha. Then the venerable Ānanda, with his hands joined [in respect] towards the Buddha, said: "Blessed One, the house of the Brahmin Ramma[ka] is very pleasant and orderly, it is highly delightful. May the Blessed One approach the house of the Brahmin Ramma[ka], out of compassion." The Blessed One accepted [the suggestion of] the venerable Ānanda by remaining silent.

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[34]In order to facilitate comparison with the translation of MN 26 by Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 253–268, I adopt the same paragraph numbering, which at times inevitably leads to inconsistencies in the numbering, such as in the present case, where a counterpart to §2 is not found in MĀ 204. For the same reason of ease of comparison, I use Pāli terminology, except for terms like Dharma and Nirvāṇa, without thereby intending to take a position on the original language of the *Madhyama-āgama* or on Pāli terminology being in principle preferable. In the notes to the translation, my focus is on the discourse parallels. A comparative study of the present discourse that takes into account a wider range of parallel material can be found in Anālayo 2011a: 170–189.

[35]MN 26 at MN I 160,17 provides a more detailed introductory narration, corresponding to §2 and the first part of §3 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 253. According to its report, in the morning the Buddha had gone begging alms and some monks had approached Ānanda expressing their wish to receive a discourse from the Buddha, whereupon Ānanda told them to go to Rammaka's hermitage. Sanskrit fragment parallels to the present episode are SHT V 1332a in Sander 1985: 227, SHT VI 1493 in Bechert 1989: 161f, and SHT X 3917 in Wille 2008: 217.

[36]The episode of Ānanda informing the other monks is not found in MN 26.

[37]According to MN 26 at MN I 161,9, he stood clothed in one robe waiting for his limbs to dry on their own.

4. Then the Blessed One, followed by the venerable Ānanda, went to the house of the Brahmin Ramma[ka]. At that time, a group of many monks were seated together in the house of the Brahmin Ramma[ka] discussing the Dharma. The Buddha stood outside the door, waiting for the monks to finish their discussion of the Dharma. The group of many monks, having completed their investigation and discussion of the Dharma, remained silent. On [coming] to know this, the Blessed One coughed and knocked on the door. Hearing him, the monks swiftly came and opened the door.

The Blessed One entered the house of the Brahmin Ramma[ka] and sat on a seat that had been prepared in front of the group of monks. He asked them: "What have you just been discussing, monks? For what matter are you sitting together here?"[38] Then the monks replied: "Blessed One, we have just been discussing the Dharma, it is for a matter of Dharma that we have been sitting together here."[39]

The Buddha commended them: "It is well, it is well, monks, sitting together you should engage in [either of] two things: the first is to discuss the Dharma, the second is to remain silent. [776a] Why? I shall also teach you the Dharma, listen carefully and pay proper attention!" The monks replied: "Yes, of course, we shall listen to receive the instruction."

5. The Buddha said: "There are two types of search, the first is called a noble search, the second is called an ignoble search. What is an ignoble search? Someone, being actually subject to disease, searches after what is subject to disease, being actually subject to old age ... subject to death ... subject to worry and sadness ... being actually subject to defilement, searches after what is subject to defilement.[40]

8. What is, being actually subject to disease, searching after what is subject to disease? What is subject to disease?[41] Sons and brothers are subject to disease,

[38] In MN 26 at MN I 161,26 the second part of the Buddha's inquiry is about the nature of their discussion that had been interrupted, *vippakata*. This appears to be an application of a stock phrase without consideration of the context, since the preceding section, in agreement with MĀ 204, indicates that their discussion had not been interrupted, as the Buddha had politely waited for it to finish before making his presence known.

[39] According to MN 26 at MN I 161,27, the monks had been speaking about the Blessed One. This would provide a smoother transition to the Buddha's subsequent delivery of an autobiographical account of his awakening, thereby continuing with a topic already broached by the monks.

[40] Here and below, the abbreviations are found in the original.

[41] MN 26 at MN I 161,36 also mentions being subject to birth (= §6 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 254). Another difference is in the sequence, as MN 26 turns to being subject to disease (§8) only after mentioning the topic of being subject to old age (§7). Yet another difference is that MN 26

elephants, horses, cattle, sheep, male and female slaves, wealth, treasures, rice and cereals are subject to disease and destruction. Living beings, stained and touched by greed and attachment, intoxicated with pride, take hold of and enter amidst these, without seeing the danger and without seeing an escape,[42] grasping at them and engaging with them.

7. - 11. What is being subject to old age ... subject to death ... subject to worry and sadness ... subject to defilement? Sons and brothers are subject to defilement, elephants, horses, cattle, sheep, male and female slaves, wealth, treasures, rice and cereals are subject to defilement and destruction.[43] Living beings, stained and touched by greed and attachment, intoxicated with pride, take hold of and enter amidst these, without seeing the danger and without seeing an escape, grasping at them and engaging with them.

That such a person, wanting and searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease, should attain the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease – that is not possible. [That such a person, wanting and] searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... free from defilement, should attain the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... free from defilement – that is not possible. This is reckoned an ignoble search.

12. What is a noble search? Someone reflects: 'I am actually subject to disease myself and I naively search for what is subject to disease, I am actually subject to old age... subject to death ... subject to worry and sadness ... subject to defilement myself and I naively search for what is subject to defilement. I would now rather search for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease, search for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... free from defilement!'

gives a full treatment of each topic, while MĀ 204 abbreviates. The items mentioned to illustrate each case also differ slightly, thus MN 26 at MN I 162,4 mentions wife and son instead of brother and son, etc. The main themes are the same, however, except that MN 26 does not refer to rice and cereals at all.

[42] MN 26 does not take up the topic of not seeing the danger and the escape, although such a reference can be found regularly in other contexts, e.g., MN 99 at MN II 203,16: *anādīnavadassāvī anissaraṇapañño*, differing from the formulation in MĀ 204 in as much as, in regard to the escape, the Pāli phrase speaks of lacking wisdom.

[43] Adopting the variant 污 instead of 法.

That such a person, searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease, should attain the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease – that is certainly possible. [That such a person], searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... free from defilement, should attain the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... free from defilement – that is certainly possible.

13. Formerly, when I had not yet awakened to supreme, right and complete awakening, I thought like this: 'I am actually subject to disease myself and I naively search for what is subject to disease, I am actually subject to old age ... subject to death ... subject to worry and sadness ... subject to defilement myself and I naively search for what is subject to defilement. What if I now rather search for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease, search for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness [776b] ... free from defilement?'

14. At that time I was a young lad, with clear [skin] and dark hair, in the prime of youth, twenty-nine years of age, roaming around well adorned and enjoying myself to the utmost. At that time I shaved off my hair and beard, while my father and mother were crying and my relatives were displeased.[44] I donned dyed robes and out of faith went forth to leave the household life and train in the path, maintaining purity of livelihood in body, maintaining purity of livelihood in speech and in mind.[45]

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[44] MĀ 204 at T I 776b3: 父母啼哭. MN 26 at MN I 163,29 agrees that the mother and the father were crying, although it mentions the mother first. The circumstance that MĀ 204 has the father first may, as suggested by Guang Xing 2005: 98 note 12, reflect Confucian influence; cf. also Anālayo 2011a: 173 note 153. Bareau 1974: 249 notes that it is curious for the mother to be described as being present when her son goes forth, as elsewhere she is reported to have passed away seven days after his birth, cf. MN 123 at MN III 122,2 or Ud 5.2 at Ud 48,6. I intend to examine this point in another paper, at present in preparation.

[45] MĀ 204 at T I 776b5: 護身命清淨，護口，意命清淨. While MN 26 does not mention the bodhisattva's development of bodily, verbal and mental purity (or his accomplishing the aggregate of morality, which is mentioned later), a comparable reference, with a somewhat different wording, can be found in a Sanskrit discourse fragment paralleling the present episode, fragment 331r7 in Liu 2010: 105, which reads *kāyena saṃvṛto viharāmi vācā āj[ī]va[ṃ] ca pa[riś]odha[yā]mi*. Judging from the Sanskrit reading, the reference to the mind, 意, could be a later addition to the passage in MĀ 204, as a purification of livelihood would only require restraint of bodily and verbal actions. Such a later addition could easily happen during the transmission of the text, as elsewhere the discourses often speak of the triad body, speech and mind, making it natural for the term mind to

15. Having accomplished this aggregate of morality, aspiring and searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease … free from old age … free from death … free from worry and sadness … the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from defilement, I approached Āḷāra Kālāma and asked him: "Āḷāra, I wish to practise the holy life in your Dharma, will you permit it?" Āḷāra replied to me: "Venerable one, I certainly permit it. You may practise as you wish to practise."[46]

I asked again: "Āḷāra, this Dharma of yours, did you know it yourself, understand it yourself, realize it yourself?" Āḷāra replied to me: "Venerable one, completely transcending the sphere of [boundless] consciousness I have attained dwelling in the sphere of nothingness. Therefore I myself have known this Dharma of mine, understood it myself, realized it myself."

I thought again: 'Not only Āḷāra has such faith, I too have such faith,[47] not only Āḷāra has such energy, I too have such energy, not only Āḷāra has such wisdom, I too have such wisdom,[48] [whereby] Āḷāra has known this teaching himself, understood it himself, realized it himself.' Because I wished to realize this Dharma, I thereupon went to stay alone and in seclusion, in an empty, quiet and tranquil place, with a mind free from indolence I practised energetically.[49] Having stayed alone and in seclusion, in an empty, quiet and tranquil place, with a mind free from indolence practising energetically, not long afterwards I realized that Dharma.

Having realized that Dharma, I again approached Āḷāra Kālāma and asked him: "Āḷāra, is this the Dharma you have known yourself, understood yourself, realized yourself, namely, by completely transcending the sphere of boundless consciousness to attain dwelling in the sphere of nothingness?" Āḷāra Kālāma replied

make its way into the present context. Von Hinüber 1996/1997: 31 explains that "pieces of texts known by heart may intrude into almost any context once there is a corresponding key word."

[46] MN 26 at MN I 164,2 indicates that the bodhisattva at first learned the theoretical aspects of Āḷāra's Dharma.

[47] Dutt 1940: 639 explains that the reference to faith in the present context stands for "confidence in his abilities to develop the powers necessary to achieve his object."

[48] MN 26 at MN I 164,16 lists all of the five faculties of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom. The same is also the case for the corresponding section in the Sanskrit fragment 331v1–2 in Liu 2010: 106. Since mindfulness and concentration are required to reach deeper levels of concentration, the Pāli and Sanskrit listings of mental qualities offer a more complete presentation.

[49] MN 26 does not mention that the bodhisattva went to practise energetically in seclusion. Sanskrit fragment 331v3 in Liu 2010: 106 agrees in this respect with MĀ 204.

to me: "Venerable one, this is [indeed] the Dharma that I have known myself, understood myself, realized myself, namely, by completely transcending the sphere of [boundless] consciousness to attain dwelling in the sphere of nothingness."[50]

Āḷāra Kālāma further said to me: "Venerable one, just as I realized this Dharma, so too have you; just as you realized this Dharma, so too have I. Venerable one, come and share the leadership of this group." Thus Āḷāra Kālāma, the teacher, placed me on an equal level, thereby giving me supreme respect, supreme support and [expressing] his supreme delight.

I thought again: [776c] "This Dharma does not lead to knowledge, does not lead to awakening, does not lead to Nirvāṇa. I would rather leave this Dharma and continue searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease ... free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from defilement."

16. I promptly left this Dharma and continued searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease ... free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from defilement. I approached Uddaka Rāmaputta and asked him: "Uddaka, I wish to train in your Dharma, will you permit it?" Uddaka Rāmaputta replied to me: "Venerable one, I certainly permit it. You may train as you wish to train."

I asked again: "Uddaka, what Dharma did your father, Rāma,[51] know himself, understand himself, realize himself?" Uddaka Rāmaputta replied to me: "Venerable one, completely transcending the sphere of nothingness he attained dwelling in the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception. Venerable one, what my father Rāma knew himself, understood himself, realized himself, is this Dharma."

I thought again: 'Not only Rāma had such faith, I too have such faith, not only Rāma had such energy, I too have such energy, not only Rāma had such wisdom, I too have such wisdom, [whereby] Rāma knew this Dharma himself, understood it himself, realized it himself. Why should I not get to know this Dharma myself, understand it myself, realize it myself?' Because I wished to realize this Dharma, I thereon went to stay alone and in seclusion, in an empty, quiet and tranquil place, with a mind free from indolence I practised energetically. Having stayed alone and in seclusion, in an empty, quiet and tranquil place, with a mind free from indolence practising energetically, not long afterwards I realized that Dharma.

[50] According to MN 26 at MN 164,32, at this point the bodhisattva explicitly indicates that he has attained the same. Sanskrit fragment 331v6 in Liu 2010: 106 agrees in this respect with MN 26.

[51] Adopting the variant reading 父羅摩 instead of 羅摩子.

Having realized that Dharma, I again approached Uddaka Rāmaputta and asked him: "Uddaka, is this the Dharma your father Rāma knew himself, understood himself, realized himself, namely, by completely transcending the sphere of nothingness to attain dwelling in the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception?" Uddaka Rāmaputta replied to me: "Venerable one, this is [indeed] the Dharma that my father Rāma knew himself, understood himself, realized himself, namely, by completely transcending the sphere of nothingness to attain dwelling in the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception."

Uddaka Rāmaputta further said to me: "Venerable one, just as my father Rāma realized this Dharma, so too have you; just as you realized this Dharma, so too did my father. Venerable one, come and share the leadership of this group."[52] Thus Uddaka Rāmaputta, the teacher, made me also a teacher, thereby giving me supreme respect, supreme support and [expressing] his supreme delight.

I thought again: "This Dharma does not lead to knowledge, [777a] does not lead to awakening, does not lead to Nirvāṇa. I would rather leave this teaching and continue searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease ... free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from defilement.'

17. I promptly left this Dharma and continued to search for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease ... free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from defilement, I went to a Brahmin village called Sena near Uruvelā, south of Elephant Peak Mountain. In that area I reached a delightful lush mountain forest by the river Nerañjarā, which was clean and full to its banks.

On seeing it, I thought: 'This place that I have reached is a delightful lush mountain forest by the river Nerañjarā, which is clean and full to its banks. If a son of a good family wishes to train, he can train here. So I shall train, I would now rather train in this place.' I promptly took some grass and approached the tree of awakening. Having reached it, I spread out [the grass] as a sitting mat beneath [the tree] and sat down cross-legged with the determination not to break

[52] According to MN 26 at MN I 166,26, however, Uddaka offered the sole leadership of his group to the bodhisattva. Sanskrit fragment 332r8 in Liu 2010: 107 agrees in this respect with MĀ 204. In view of the fact that the bodhisattva had attained what Uddaka had not attained himself, the reading in MN 26 fits the context better. Because of the repetitive nature of the account of the two teachers, it could easily have happened that the reading appropriate for the first instance was accidentally applied to the second instance, taking place at a time before the Sanskrit fragment version and MĀ 204 were transmitted separately.

my sitting until the influxes had been eradicated. I [indeed] did not break my sitting until the influxes had been eradicated.[53]

18. Searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease, I attained the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from disease. Searching for the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... free from defilement, I attained the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa, which is free from old age ... free from death ... free from worry and sadness ... free from defilement. Knowledge arose, vision arose and I was concentrated on the requisites of awakening.[54] I knew as it truly is that birth has been eradicated, the holy life has been established, what had to be done has been done and there will be no more experiencing of existence.[55]

22. Having just awakened to the supreme, right and complete awakening, I thought: "To whom should I first teach the Dharma?" I further thought: "Should I now first teach the Dharma to Āḷāra Kālāma?" At that time there was a heavenly being up in the sky that told me: "Great sage, may you know that Āḷāra Kālāma passed away seven days ago." I also came to know for myself that Āḷāra Kālāma had passed away seven days ago. I thought again: "It is a great loss for Āḷāra Kālāma that he did not get to hear this Dharma. If he had heard it, he would have quickly understood the Dharma in accordance with the Dharma."

23. Having just awakened to supreme, right and complete awakening, I thought: "To whom should I first teach the Dharma?" I further thought: "Should I now first teach the Dharma to Uddaka Rāmaputta?" At that time there was again a heavenly being up in the sky that told me: "Great sage, may you know that Uddaka Rāmaputta passed away fourteen days ago."[56] [777b] I also came to know for myself that Uddaka Rāmaputta had passed away fourteen days ago. I thought again: "It is a great loss for Uddaka Rāmaputta that he did not get to hear this Dharma. If he had heard it, he would have quickly understood the Dharma in accordance with the Dharma."

[53] MN 26 does not report the preparation of the seat or the determination not to get up until the influxes are destroyed.

[54] A reference to the *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā* is not found in MN 26.

[55] At this point, MN 26 at MN I 167,30 to MN I 169,30 continues with the Buddha's reflection that his Dharma is difficult to understand, followed by reporting Brahmā's intervention. Thus two full pages of the E^e edition, corresponding to §§19–21 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 260–262, are without any counterpart in MĀ 204.

[56] According to MN 26 at MN I 170,15, Uddaka had passed away just the night before.

24. Having just awakened to supreme, right and complete awakening, I thought: "To whom should I first teach the Dharma?" I further thought: "The five monks of former times, who supported me in my efforts, have been of much benefit. When I practised asceticism, those five monks served me. Should I now first teach the Dharma to the five monks?" I further thought: "Where are the five monks of former times now?" With the purified divine eye that transcends [the vision] of human beings I saw that the five monks were in the Deer Park at the Dwelling-place of Seers near Benares.[57] After staying under the tree of awakening according [to my wishes], I gathered my robes, took my bowl and approached Benares, the city of Kāsi.[58]

Comparison

Placing the above translated part of the Discourse at Ramma[ka]'s [Hermitage] and the corresponding part of the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* side by side reveals a number of small variations.[59] By far the most prominent difference, however, is the complete absence of Brahmā in the *Madhyama-āgama* version.

In the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta*, the episode with Brahmā's intervention begins with the Buddha reflecting on the profundity of his realization, in particular the difficulty of understanding the principle of dependent arising and the nature of Nirvāṇa for those who are steeped in worldliness and defilements. Anticipating that others would not understand him, the Buddha considers that this would be troublesome and decides not to teach the Dharma.

Brahmā Sahampati becomes aware of this reflection in the Buddha's mind and realizes that the world will be lost, as the Buddha is disinclined to teach. Quickly appearing in front of the Buddha, with hands together in respect, Brahmā Sahampati requests the Buddha to teach, arguing that some will understand. Following Brahmā's request, out of compassion the Buddha surveys the world with his divine eye and realizes that some beings are indeed capable of understanding, whereupon he decides to teach. Realizing that the mission has been successful, Brahmā Sahampati pays homage and disappears.

[57] MĀ 204 at T I 777b9: 仙人住, while MN 26 at MN I 170,30 speaks of the Isipatana; on the term cf. Caillat 1968.

[58] MĀ 204 continues with the Buddha meeting Upaka on the way to Benares, etc.

[59] There are more substantial differences between the remaining parts of MN 26 and MĀ 204, which I did not translate in order to stay within the prescribed size for an article in this journal.

In principle, the difference between the two parallel versions regarding the episode of Brahmā's intervention can be explained in two ways:

1) The episode has been lost in the *Madhyama-āgama* Discourse at Ramma[ka]'s [Hermitage], either through accidental loss or because those responsible for its transmission or translation have purposely omitted it.
2) The narration of Brahmā's entreaty is an element added later to the *Ariya-pariyesanā-sutta*.

Regarding the first possibility, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse translated above does not give the impression that a loss of text has occurred, as the narration runs smoothly without any uneven transition. Moreover, the remainder of the Chinese discourse makes as much sense as its Pāli parallel; that is, there appears to be no need for Brahmā to intervene in order for subsequent events to be coherent.

Proposing a conscious omission of this episode from the *Madhyama-āgama* version would require identifying some good reason for removing it. This can in fact be found. With subsequent developments in Buddhist traditions, the notion became prevalent that the Buddha had prepared himself during numerous past lives for his task as a teacher who would lead others to awakening. This notion makes it rather surprising that, once he has accomplished all that is required for carrying out this mission, he should need prompting by another in order to start teaching at all.[60] Without this episode, the Buddha's autobiographical account is more easily reconciled with the traditional belief in his prolonged preparation for becoming a teacher.

Regarding the second of the two above-mentioned possibilities, however, it seems equally possible that the Brahmā episode is a later addition.[61] The general

[60]Bloomfield 2011: 100 comments that "from the earliest times Buddhists have found this episode problematic. It seems unthinkable that the supreme embodiment of compassion would have considered keeping his wisdom to himself"; cf. also Bareau 1963: 141f, Webster 2005, Jones 2009 and Anālayo 2010: 22–26.

[61]Nakamura 2000: 212 comments that "the intervention of Brahmā ... cannot be found in the equivalent Chinese translation and is therefore a later interpolation". Nakamura supports his conclusion by arguing that the reference to dependent arising, found in MN 26 at MN I 167,35 just before Brahmā's intervention, differs from the referents used earlier in the discourse to the final goal as something that is tranquil and free from defilement. Yet a reflection on the significance of what has just been realized need not perforce use precisely the same terms as a description of the earlier aspiration to what at that point had not yet been experienced. These two contexts are

tendency during oral transmission is in fact more often to add and expand than consciously to remove passages. Given that the *Madhyama-āgama* account reads smoothly without Brahmā's intervention, it could well be that an early version of the Buddha's autobiographical account did not mention Brahmā at all.

The same pattern recurs in relation to the former Buddha Vipassī: the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and its *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel – the latter probably stemming from the Dharmaguptaka tradition[62] – report an intervention by Brahmā[63] which is absent from a partial parallel preserved in Chinese and from a Sanskrit fragment version.[64] The partial Chinese version shows several substantial differences when compared with the Sanskrit fragments of the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra*, making it fairly certain that the two stem from different lines of transmission.[65]

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sufficiently different to allow for different but complementary perspectives on the implications of awakening.

[62] On the school affiliation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* cf., e.g., Demiéville 1951: 252f, Brough 1962/2001: 50, Lü 1963: 242, Bareau 1966, Waldschmidt 1980: 136, Mayeda 1985: 97, Enomoto 1986: 25 and Oberlies 2003: 44.

[63] DN 14 at DN II 36,21 and DĀ 1 at T I 8b22.

[64] T 3 at T I 156c14 and Waldschmidt 1956: 148 note 2.

[65] Just to mention a few major differences: On the prince's first outing from the palace, according to T 3 at T I 154b13 he encounters a sick person, in the Sanskrit fragment version, Waldschmidt 1956: 118, 11, he instead first comes across someone afflicted by old age and only meets a sick person on the second outing. When his father comes to know what has happened, in T 3 at T I 154c5 he reflects that by staying at home the prince will become a wheel-turning king, but by going forth he will become a Buddha, whereas in the Sanskrit fragment version, Waldschmidt 1956: 120,25, the father worries whether the prediction that the prince will go forth will come true, without any reference to his becoming a wheel-turning king or a Buddha. On the fourth outing, having seen someone who has gone forth in T 3 at T I 155c3 the prince returns to the palace and there develops the aspiration to go forth, whereas in the Sanskrit fragment version, Waldschmidt 1956: 129,1, he approaches the renunciate, converses with him and then decides on the spot to go forth as well. The Sanskrit fragments, Waldschmidt 1956: 131,2, report that a reflection on the nature of the Dharma motivates the people to follow the prince's example and go forth, whereas in T 3 at T I 155c17 they are motivated by his having relinquished his high position. According to the Sanskrit fragment version, Waldschmidt 1956: 132,6, the bodhisattva Vipaśyin decides that he had better live alone and therefore dismisses the people who have followed him and gone forth, telling them to come back once he has reached awakening. Next he obtains grass and approaches the seat of awakening with the intention not to break his sitting until the destruction of the influxes has been achieved. None of these episodes is recorded in T 3. In T 3 at T I 156a14 the bodhisattva Vipaśyin's investigation of dependent arising covers all twelve links, including formations and ignorance, whereas in the Sanskrit fragment version, Waldschmidt 1956: 137,7, his investigation instead leads up to the reciprocal conditioning of consciousness and name-and-form. In T 3 at T I 156b20 Vipaśyin's awakening is preceded by his contemplation of the rise and fall of the five aggregates, whereas the Sanskrit fragment version, Waldschmidt 1956: 146,1, also mentions his contemplation of the rise

Once the absence of the Brahmā episode recurs in what appear to be separate lines of transmission, it becomes probable that this episode is indeed a later addition. If such an addition took place, it must have happened at a time when the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* as well as the Sanskrit fragment version of the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* and the partial Chinese parallel were already being transmitted independently from the ancestor of the Theravāda and Dharmaguptaka versions of these discourses. The powerful effect of this episode would then have been responsible for the widespread occurrence of Brahmā's intervention in texts like the *Mahāvastu* or the *Jātaka Nidānakathā*, etc., and in iconographic representations.

While the tendency for Brahmā to be 'included' in early Buddhist discourses appears to be so well attested that it can safely be assumed to be early, the most prominent example of Brahmā's role as a promoter of Buddhism – his requesting the Buddha to teach and thereby enabling the coming into existence of the whole Buddhist tradition – may be a later addition to the autobiographical account of the Buddha's awakening.

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and fall of the links of dependent arising. Such substantial differences make it safe to assume that the two versions derive from separate transmission lineages.

Abbreviations

AN	*Aṅguttara-nikāya*
B^{e}	Burmese edition
C^{e}	Ceylonese edition
D	Derge edition
DĀ	*Dirgha-āgama* (T 1)
DN	*Dīgha-nikāya*
EĀ	*Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125)
E^{e}	PTS edition
Jā	*Jātaka*
MĀ	*Madhyama-āgama* (T 26)
MN	*Majjhima-nikāya*
Q	*Qian-long* (Peking) edition
S^{e}	Siamese edition
SĀ	*Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99)
SĀ^{2}	*Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 100)
SHT	Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden
SN	*Saṃyutta-nikāya*
Sv	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)
Ud	*Udāna*
Vin	*Vinayapiṭaka*

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Ambitions and Negotiations: The Growing Role of Laity in Twentieth-century Chinese Buddhism

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This article highlights the growing role of laity in 20th century Chinese Buddhism. Like other Buddhist traditions in Asia, Chinese Buddhists were affected by the changes brought about by modernization. While lay Buddhists have played an important role throughout Chinese Buddhist history, during the modern period they assumed prerogatives that had been traditionally limited to monastics. The article explores three exemplary cases: a Tantric priest (Wáng Hóngyuàn), a scholar (Oūyáng Jìngwú) and a political leader (Zhào Púchū). The article examines the reaction of the Saṅgha to these lay Buddhists and their lasting impact on Modern Buddhism in China.

1. Introduction

This paper will focus on the changing role of the laity in late Qīng and early Republican China. Its main objective is to investigate the thesis that the modern period saw an unprecedented shift in lay-monastic dynamics, whereby laypeople took more liberty to interpret, practice and conceptualize Buddhism independently of, and sometimes at odds with, the Saṅgha. The so-called "laicization" thesis has been clearly articulated, among others, by Helen Hardacre:

> "The modernization of Buddhist societies has brought sweeping changes. The extension of the franchise and expanded political participation in secular life colored religious life, creating the expectation that laity should be able to influence the character of Buddhist institutions. The spread of literacy has enabled laity to read

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> and interpret sacred scripture with increasing independence from the ordained. Higher education hones a critical spirit and encourages skepticism regarding clergy's preeminence over the laity and their monopoly over funerals and other rituals. The prestige of science and rationality in modernizing societies further nurtures a critical view of traditional religious beliefs, practices, and institutions." (Hardacre 2004, 448)

Has that been the case in modern China? This paper argues that while it would be a historical mistake to talk about the demise of monastic authority in the modern period, we do see a significant growth in the role of the laity in modern Chinese Buddhism. This growth is a part of processes related to the emergence of complex cross-cultural and global relationships with other Asian powers and with the West. Chinese Buddhism thus shared with other Buddhist traditions, especially those of Japan and South Asia, some characteristics that enabled lay Buddhist influence to grow. These include concerns, whether realistic or not, about threats from colonialism and imperialism, and also from growing secularist tendencies. In addition, we see a shared concern for authenticity, and a tension between continuity and rapture in these reform movements, many of which were led by lay people.[1]

In order to establish my claim, I intend to focus on three case studies of laymen with remarkable careers: a Tantric priest, a scholar and a leader. Each case study represents a different aspect of the religious authority that the laity claimed in this period: the right to give initiation and perform rituals, the right to authority on doctrinal matters, and the right to lead the Saṅgha's institutions.

Through the case studies I wish to demonstrate that (1) Chinese lay Buddhists assumed leadership roles they rarely claimed in pre-modern times; (2) Lay dynamics in China were closely related, at least in the early part of the 20th century, to the changing role of religion and Buddhism globally and in Japan in particular; and finally that (3) Lay Buddhism in the modern period is closely related to historical and social dynamics in modern China. I will begin with a brief overview of the laity's role in Chinese Buddhism.

[1] At the congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies in Taiwan, June 2011, these shared characteristics came up repeatedly in a panel dedicated to the growing role of the laity across cultures in the modern period.

2. The Historical Role of the Laity in Chinese Buddhism

What do I mean by lay Buddhists? This is by no means an easy term to define. As Holmes Welch noted, "The director of the 1961 census in Hong Kong was unable to solve it (i.e. the question of what a Buddhist devotee is) and therefore no entry on religion was included" (Welch 1967, 357). So what is a lay Buddhist? Welch continues, "Suppose we asked, 'do you believe in the Buddha (信佛)?' In that case most of the rural population of China would answer in the affirmative… If we asked: 'Do you go to worship at Buddhist temples?' almost all would answer that they did" (Welch 1967, 357). What about those who worship in other temples too?[2] One cannot exclude all religious hybridity when discussing so-called Buddhists in China. For this paper I will define lay Buddhists as people who took their Buddhist identity a step beyond occasional worship. The three cases below are laypeople who made Buddhism their main vocation in life.

Devout Buddhist laypeople who have had a remarkable career are not new in Chinese history. Chinese laity began to organize into societies for recitation of the Buddha's name already during the Six Dynasties (222–589) period. Some of the greatest poets of the Táng Dynasty, such as Wáng Wéi and Bái Jūyì were lay Buddhists. Lay Buddhists such as Lǐ Tōngxuán (李通玄) contributed to the development of Chinese Buddhist thought,[3] and layman Péng (龐居士) established his name as an ideal Enlightened Chán lay Buddhist, whose wisdom recalled that of Vimalakīrti.

It seems safe to argue that throughout Chinese Buddhist history, elite members of the literati both shaped and were shaped by their association with Buddhist monks.[4] In the Míng Dynasty, a large number of literati immersed themselves in

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[2]This raises a broader problem of religious identity in China, which is more fluid than has been traditional in the West. However, in 2008 the Pew Research Center published a study concluding that: "Based on interviews with more than 35,000 Americans age 18 and older, the U.S. Religious Landscape Survey finds that religious affiliation in the U.S. is both very diverse and extremely fluid." http://pewresearch.org/pubs/743/united-states-religion, http://pewresearch.org/pubs/743/united-states-religion (Accessed May, 2nd 2011). In another research published in the BBC and study religious patterns in 9 Western countries researchers argued that, "The study found a steady rise in those claiming no religious affiliation." http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-12811197, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-12811197 (Accessed May, 2nd 2011).

One can argue that in recent years religious identity in the West became more fluid as well and that one can see more hybrid forms of religious practice (so called Jewish-Buddhists, or a Christian who is also a Zen practitioner, Christian Yoga etc.).

[3]For more see Gimello 1983.

[4]For more see Halperin 2006 and Gregory 1999.

the study of Buddhist scriptures, following the lead of Wáng Yángmíng (1472–1529). According to Wú Jiāng, some of Wáng Yángmíng's followers incorporated Buddhist teachings into their Confucian teachings. It was a time of fascination with Buddhist scholasticism and there was a "prevalent Chán craze in the literati culture" (Wú 2008, 47). The Chán Buddhist tradition developed a highly sophisticated corpus of literature. Consequently, Míng literati read Chán literature for their leisure, to experience the "joy of Chán" (Wú 2008, 59). Sometimes they challenged the monks' understanding (Wú 2008, 65-7) and even offered teaching as Chán teachers (Wú 2008, 68-71).

What, if anything, had changed in the modern period? Some may argue that not much changed, that the dynamics in the Qīng Dynasty and onward are simply the maturation of earlier dynamics. However, I would like to suggest that lay Buddhists not only increased their prominence during the late Qīng Dynasty, but also moved into new territories that they avoided in the past. For example, Holmes Welch noted that towards the end of the Qīng and the Republican period most of the lay associations were founded by lay initiatives, unlike the lay associations of the pre-modern period, which were founded mostly by monks (Welch 1968, 81). Welch also noted that laypeople began to participate in activities that were traditionally restricted to monks, sitting in meditation sessions with the monks in the meditation halls and the halls for the recitation of the Buddha name. Laypeople also began to participate in rituals, one of the monopolies of the clergy and an important source of income for the Saṅgha. The first case study is an example of how laypeople in the 20th century insisted not only on having a role in rituals but also on officiating at them.

3. The lay Ācārya Wáng Hóngyuàn 王弘願 (1876-1937)

3.1. Biography

Wáng was a controversial lay Buddhist who was a 49th generation *Ācārya* 阿闍梨 (which literally means "teacher", but is here defined as a Tantric priest) in the lineage of the Japanese Shingon School. He is a part of the long esoteric Buddhist tradition in China (密教), a tradition that in the early 20th century enjoyed a remarkable comeback via Japan.[5] Wáng's early career did not suggest his future as

[5]The history of this school in China is fascinating and has received well-deserved treatment by scholars in recent years (for more see Orzech, Sørensen and Payne (eds), 2010). Scholars such as Robert Gimello, Charles Orzech and Henrik Sørensen show that the history of this movement in

a propagator of esoteric Buddhism. He received a traditional Confucian education, and in 1899 passed his *Xiùcái* 秀才 degree, the first degree in the imperial examination system. He later taught and served as principal at a middle school in Cháozhōu, Guǎngdōng. When he was in his 40's, Wáng had doubts regarding the Confucian critique of Buddhism and the more he read about Buddhism the more he found himself drawn to it. In 1918, Wáng published a translation of the Japanese Shingon school priest, Gonda Raifu's 權田雷斧 (1846-1934) work, *Mìzōng gāngyào* 密宗綱要 (Essentials of the Esoteric School). After the translation, and perhaps as a result of it, Gonda arrived at Cháozhōu in 1924 and gave Wáng tantric initiation (*abhiṣeka* 灌頂).

In 1926, Wáng left for Japan, where he received the title of Ācārya. He later returned to China and established the China Esoteric Buddhist Rebirth Association (震旦密教重興會). He consequently began to propagate the esoteric tradition, teach, and publish a magazine called "Records of Teaching Esoteric Buddhism" (密教講習錄). In 1928, Wáng began conducting initiation ceremonies in cities such as Cháozhōu, Guǎngzhōu, Shàntóu and Hong Kong, where thousands became his disciples (Dèng and Chén 2000, 353). In 1933, he became the director of the newly established Jiěxíng Vihāra 解行精舍 and lectured on Buddhism in Sun-Yat Sen University. In 1934, he also established the Shàntóu Esoteric Buddhist Rebirth Association (汕頭密教重興會) and published a magazine called "The Lamp of the World" (世燈). A prolific writer, he translated his teacher's writings, commented on esoteric Buddhist texts and wrote original works of his own.[6]

3.2. Wáng Hóngyuàn and the debate with Tàixū

Before his return from Japan as Ācārya, Wáng was a part of the reformer-monk Tàixū's circle. Tàixū (太虛 1890-1947) is known especially for his relentless efforts to modernize the Saṅgha. Buddhists during the Republican period understood that times had changed and that they had to change with them. They also understood that the tide of change signified a risk to the stability and prosperity of Buddhism in China. One of the ways in which reformers such as Tàixū sought to combat these developments was to restore East Asian Buddhism to its state of glory during the Táng, when Chinese Buddhism was believed to be at its prime.

China is much more complex than the traditional narrative of "popularity in the Tang and a later decline". (Shì Dōngchū 1975, 426).

[6] For a list of publications see Dèng and Chén 2000, 335.

He thought that modern Buddhism should be a unified form of Buddhism, non-sectarian in its approach (Welch 1968, 198-9), presumably because internal debate and arguments would weaken the Saṅgha facing external detractors.

One of the schools that were popular during the Táng was the Esoteric School. In 1919 Tàixū began his attempt to revive the esoteric tradition through promoting Esoteric Buddhist literature in his journal *Hǎicháoyīn*. He encouraged monks to study in Tibet and invited Tantric masters to initiate his students (Clower 2003). In 1924, he opened the Buddhist College for the Study of Tibetan Buddhism and Language. Students who enrolled there were taught Esoteric Buddhism by the Tantric master Dàyǒng (大勇 1893–1929), who was also the principal of the institution (Welch 1968, 196-7). Tàixū initially supported Wáng's interest in the esoteric tradition.[7] In the first letter he wrote to Wáng, Tàixū congratulated him, saying, "Your translation of Gonda Raifu's two volumes of *A Thorough Explanation of the Maṇḍala* was published in *Hǎicháoyīn* and it is most welcome" (*The Complete Works of Tàixū*, hereafter TQS 26p122). In his second letter, Tàixū continued his praise: "The more published the better, and this is my hope. But looking at what has been published so far, I am not yet satisfied; I am looking forward to your great work!" (TQS 26p122-3)

However, shortly afterwards the tone changed and the enthusiasm of Tàixū shifted to cautious critique. The problem for Tàixū seemed to be that his plan for a humble revival of the esoteric tradition was too successful. Tàixū's main goal was not to promote esoteric Buddhism but to modernize Buddhism. Modernizing Buddhism meant purging it of what many at the time considered superstitious elements (or to put it in the words of Holmes Welch, from "a mixture of Brahmanism and magical hocus-pocus" Welch 1968, 177), many of which could be found abundantly in the esoteric tradition. As a result of the revival effort, the esoteric tradition did not become the tamed tradition he envisioned but so widely popular that it threatened to overshadow the whole syncretic project of Tàixū. It was at that point that Tàixū's support for the esoteric tradition waned, and he became critical towards Wáng Hóngyuàn.

What were the main complaints of Tàixū and some of his followers against Wáng? In a letter he wrote to Wáng, Tàixū enumerated some of them.

> After reading your essay "Letter of Respectfully Informing Buddhist Scholars in China," I learned about the visit of the Japanese

[7] Tàixū also included the translation by Wáng in the curriculum of his seminary.

> Archbishop[8] [Gonda] Raifu to China. This is indeed a significant karmic event. I also heard about the revival of the Esoteric tradition's spirit [in China], much of which is thanks to your translation of [Gonda] Raifu's writings. [Gonda] Raifu indeed established himself as a great scholar among Japanese scholars of the esoteric tradition. However, despite appropriating the title of a monastic archbishop, in fact he does not practice as a monk. I heard from Master Enka (演華師), that [Gonda] Raifu still has concubines in his seventies. I've heard that all Japanese clerics are like that, and that it has become a popular practice. This behavior is not better than the certain Jōdo Shinshū master whom you criticized [in the past]. [People like Raifu] merely talk the noble path of the Esoteric tradition practice, but do not practice it; they can only be regarded as philosophers but not as Shingon Ācāryas.
>
> Therefore, in my opinion, [while visiting], [Gonda] Raifu should give lectures around China, like John Dewey and Bertrand Russell, but must not perform *abhiṣeka* rituals. I now question you, what do you think? (TQS 26p128-9)

On the surface, Tàixū seems to be concerned with the morality of the Japanese Shingon priests, but there are two other issues that bothered him. First, Raifu and other Japanese Buddhists arrived in China supported by Japanese imperialism. The infamous document of the twenty-one demands (二十一條),[9] included a demand that Japanese Buddhists should have the right to conduct missionary work in China. Japanese imperialists of that period attempted to use Buddhism as a "unifying" ideology to form a pan-Asian front in order to face European dominance. Needless to say, the Pan-Asian entity would be ruled by Japan (Yú 2005, 161).

The second concern, more relevant to our discussion, is the risk that under Japanese influence the boundaries between monks and laypeople would become murky. Tàixū saw the problem emerging, perhaps, when Gonda Raifu became the teacher of the monk Tèsōng (特松 1894-1972). Traditionally, it was not acceptable for a monk to be mentored by a layperson, only vice versa (Bianchi 2004,

[8] 僧正 is a highest title a Shingon priest can achieve. It literally means something like "Saṅgha's chief", or "chief monk", and Tàixū is criticizing the fact that they use the term monk or Saṅgha without actually being Buddhist monks.

[9] See Spence 1991, 285-6.

36-7) Wáng's rituals were another ominous sign for Tàixū.[10] Welch noted: "It was far less common for laymen to appropriate the titles of monks than to appropriate their function (Welch 1968, 85). As is evident from Wáng's case, one of the problems with his Buddhist career was that he did both; he used the title of Ācārya and at the same time performed the initiation ceremony and by that attracted thousands of followers.

That led to an escalation in the tone of Tàixū's criticism. On a later occasion, he replied to a question about a criticism of Wáng:

> This [criticism] was incurred by Wáng Shīyù's (王師愈 Wáng's original name) own fault of arrogance and pride. He is merely a mediocre Confucian scholar rejecting Buddhist [orthodoxy]. He translated two books by the Shingon Shingi-ha (the new interpretation subschool) master Gonda Raifu and gained the favor of Gonda. [Consequently], he broke the laws of the Buddhas and the regulations of the patriarchs. He received an initiation [from Gonda], and then regarded himself as a rare and invaluable commodity and arrogantly thought to elevate [Gonda] Raifu's teachings as surpassing all other Buddhist dharma-gates in China and abroad. He also erroneously thought that the upāsaka resides among the six communities of monks etc. and that [the upāsaka] leads the seven communities [of the Buddha's disciples]. This is the reason that he provoked the monastic rebuke. In addition, Wáng Shīyù does not know how to admit mistakes. He does not recognize the words "humility and repentance". He unceasingly provokes wrangling with others; consequently he is harshly scolded by [people] from all over. (TQS 31p1421)

What was Wáng's reaction to Tàixū's concerns about erasing the traditional difference between monks and laity? He seemed to be quite indifferent. He said, "There is no distinction between monks and laity in my school. All laypeople are dharma vessels, who carry forward the great Dharma, and are monuments[11] of the attainment of Buddhahood[12]" (Yú 2005, 161).

[10] Needless to say for Shingon followers Gonda Raifu was not a monk in the traditional sense, but also not a layperson, borrowing from Richard Jaffe he was "neither monk nor layman." For Tàixū there was nothing that separates Gonda Raifu from other ordinary laypeople, excluding perhaps the pretense to be a cleric.

[11] Literally *stūpas*.

[12] Literally Buddhahood in this very body.

Tàixū was definitely not the only Buddhist to be concerned about the ritualistic prerogatives that Wáng assumed. Other Buddhists wrote treatises denouncing him, among them Zhoū Yuánxìng's *The Danger of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism* (中國佛教密宗危矣) and the monk Dànyún's *Discussing Wáng Hóngyuàn's Transgressions from the Perspective of Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism* (從顯密問題上說到王弘願犯戒). A prominent critic, the monk Yìnguāng, stated, "The layman Wáng Hóngyuàn, despite the fact that he has deep faith in Esoteric Buddhism, [and despite the fact that] it yielded some results, since he began to misinterpret the message, has missed the meaning and failed to understand it. He should continue his reading of the scriptures, and only then will he recognize his mistake. Now, despite the fact that his skills began to gain some momentum, it is like flames rising from a weak and empty fire[13] (Yú 2005, 161-2).

Monastic critique seemed to do little to curb the popularity of Wáng initiations, but they were not the only challenge to monastic authority. Around the same time, a layman with a similar background to that of Wáng made an important contribution to the critical study of Buddhism in China. The layman Oūyáng Jìngwú, through his Inner Studies Institute, challenged some longheld assumptions about Buddhist doctrine and further challenged the Saṅgha's authority.

4. The scholar Oūyáng Jìngwú 歐陽竟無 (1871-1943)

While Wáng challenged the monastic prerogatives in performing religious initiations, Oūyáng challenged the monastic prerogatives in at least three different ways. (1) He argued against central doctrines and important schools in East Asian Buddhism, considering them inauthentic. (2) He challenged views that established monastic superiority. (3) He played a crucial role in an attempt to exert control over the monastic estate in China through the establishment of a Buddhist Association.

4.1. Biography

Oūyáng Jìngwú was born in 1871 in Yíhuáng county (宜黃), Jiāngxī province. His original name was Oūyáng Jiàn (歐陽漸) and courtesy name Oūyáng Jìnghú

[13] This is a metaphor from Chinese medicine which refers to a condition resulting from general energy deficiency and inner fire hyperactivity. Yìnguāng compares Wáng to someone who produces efficacy from an unhealthy source.

(歐陽鏡湖).[14] Like Wáng, Oūyáng came from an educated family and was tutored from an early age in traditional Confucian education. Prepared to continue his family's literati heritage, he was trained in the Chéngzhū orthodox branch of Confucianism. At the same time Oūyáng was also trained in the methods of the Evidential Scholarship movement (*Kǎozhèngxúe* 考證學), a Qīng Dynasty movement that emphasized a critical approach to the study of the Confucian (and non-Confucian) classics. It is this critical spirit that he later applied to the study of Buddhist scriptures and through which he challenged some of the fundamental mainstream and monastic assumptions regarding the Buddhist teachings.

Like Wáng, Oūyáng converted to Buddhism in his adulthood. A major factor in his reluctance to convert to Buddhism was undoubtedly his Confucian heritage, to which he was committed ideologically but also emotionally, as it was his family heritage. Oūyáng finally converted to Buddhism after his meeting with Yáng Wénhùi, the so-called father of modern Buddhism in China. Yáng convinced Oūyáng that there is more to Buddhism than its East Asian tradition and encouraged him to study the Yogācāra tradition and the tradition of Buddhist logic. Yáng argued that without understanding the Yogācāra tradition it would be impossible to understand Buddhism (Chéng 1999, 162), a view that Oūyáng maintained throughout his later career.

The study of Yogācāra became more available thanks to Yáng Wénhùi's success in retrieving hundreds of volumes of Buddhist texts from Japan, volumes that had been lost in China for about a millennium. Prime among these texts were fundamental commentaries on Yogācāra and Buddhist logic, texts that provided the Chinese-speaking world with a renewed encounter with the Indian scholastic tradition after years of being marginalized in the East Asian Buddhist curriculum.

Oūyáng was known among Yáng Wénhùi's circle as the Yogācāra expert. He later established his own institution of Buddhist learning, the Inner Studies Institute (*Zhīnà Neìxuéyuàn* 支那內學院). Through this institution he taught and introduced Buddhism to some of the most prominent intellectuals of the early part of the 20th century, such as Liáng Qǐchāo, Liáng Shùmíng and Cài Yuánpéi.

His Yogācāra studies often brought him into conflict with conservative Buddhists, many of whom were monks. In the next section I shall briefly discuss Oūyáng's challenge to orthodox Chinese Buddhism, which he deemed as partially inauthentic. I shall then discuss his institutional challenge to the Saṅgha, and his unsuccessful attempt to assume control over the Saṅgha's establishment. At that

[14]He changed his name to Jìngwú when he converted to Buddhism in his 40s.

time, the idea that a layman, and a radical at that, could oversee the Saṅgha's estate was shocking. As we will see below, this scenario became a reality with the career of Zhào Púchū, when the Chinese Buddhist Association was reestablished after the Communists took over.

4.2. Oūyáng's challenge to Buddhist Orthodoxy

Oūyáng's challenge to Buddhist orthodoxy extended beyond his individual work. As the head of the Inner Studies Institute, he trained the next generation of lay Buddhists, who contributed to the critique of mainstream Chinese Buddhist doctrines and practices.[15] Some of the disciples' critiques were even more analytical and precise than those of Oūyáng himself. Oūyáng can be credited with introducing a critical approach to the study of Buddhism which he inherited from his Confucian education. His understanding of the Buddhist teaching underwent various developments.[16] In his long career his doctrinal preferences evolved beyond the Yogācāra tradition (he also studied the Madhyamaka and continued to write on Confucianism); nonetheless, Yogācāra always remained his benchmark to judge the authenticity of the tradition. He said:

> If one wishes to dispel the…obstacles [for Chinese Buddhism], one must enter the gates of the Yogācāra teaching.[17] The Yogācāra teaching is a skilful means; it is the understanding of the correct principles. A scholar who investigates it will be able clearly to understand the true principle. He will be able to cure the obstacle of vague and unsystematic thinking. (Oūyáng 1976, 1360)

Judging by this benchmark he found much to criticize within the Chinese Buddhist tradition. The most fundamental error was the teaching that can be located in texts such as the *Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* (大乘起信論 hereafter AFM). The AFM has been controversial since its appearance in China during the sixth century. However, during the Táng Dynasty, the AFM's popularity grew and it was accepted by most mainstream Buddhists as an authentic text. This was especially true in Huáyán circles. The text remained foundational for East Asian Buddhist thought, as evidenced by more than 150 commentaries that were written to explain its intricate system to generations of Buddhists.

[15] Writers such as Lǚ Chéng and Wáng Ēnyáng.
[16] For more see Aviv, 2008 and Chéng, 2000.
[17] Literally wéishì and fǎxiàng.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss at length the teachings of the AFM or Oūyáng's critique of it; nonetheless an example may illustrate the kind of objection Oūyáng made to it. The AFM's teaching can be contextualized in a larger debate on whether the mind is fundamentally pure or impure. The AFM offered a synthesis, that is, the mind has two aspects – the pure and the impure. Using the technical language of the AFM, the author of the text argued that there is only one mind but that it has two different aspects, "mind as suchness" (心真如) and the "mind that arises and ceases," or saṃsāric mind (心生滅). The two aspects are two manifestations of one and the same mind, two sides of the same coin.[18]

For Oūyáng, this unique teaching was not confirmed by any credible Yogācāra text. He argued that fundamental to the Buddhist teaching is the notion of correct knowledge (Skt. *samyagjñāna*, Ch. 正智). Correct knowledge must have an object that it "knows" or cognizes. An object must be something that can serve as a cause. In the case of the AFM, however, the object collapses into the subject. Oūyáng argued that this is a doctrinal error.

The collapse of suchness and the subjective mind into one, as well as other errors, was consequently adopted by the main schools of East Asian Buddhism (Tiāntāi and Huáyán schools) and further distanced Chinese Buddhism from what Oūyáng saw as authentic Buddhism. In an attempt to settle seeming contradictions within the Buddhist teaching, these schools created a classification system known as *pànjiào* (判教) that judged the subtlety of the various teachings. Overemphasis on *pànjiào* classification created the false assumption that there are several teachings within Buddhism, whereas the Buddhadharma is essentially one.[19] These teachings and classifications eventually informed Buddhist practice, which consequently took the wrong turn. Oūyáng argued that at the end "they [i.e. the indigenous East Asian schools] do not find the gateway to the practice of meditation" (Ouyang 1988, 181).

From the standpoint of practice, no other school shaped Buddhist practice in China more than the Chán School. Here, Oūyáng criticized Chán Buddhist anti-intellectual sentiments. He held that Chán Buddhism should be commended

[18] See T32n1666.0576a05-09.

[19] See for example when Oūyáng argues: "Both schools differentiate [the teachings of the Buddha] based on [different] concepts. [But, in fact] there is no difference in the meaning of the teachings." (Ouyang Jingwu 1976, 1365).

for its Mādhyamika tendencies but its adherents must leave behind their anti-scriptural rhetoric. Oūyáng argued:<

> Since the School of Chán entered China, its blind adherents [mistakenly] understood the *Buddhadharma* to mean 'Point directly to the fundamental mind, do not rely on words and letters, see your nature and become a Buddha.' Why should one attach oneself to name and words? Little do they realize that the high attainment of Chán followers only happens among those who combine reason with the sharp faculties of superior wisdom…they discard the previous scriptures of the sages of yore and the excellent and refined words of the worthy ones of old, which lead to the decline in the true meaning of the *Buddhadharma* (Oūyáng 1976, 1359).

Oūyáng was greatly concerned with this decline. How can the Buddhist tradition be dependent on ignorant and deluded monastic leadership?

4.3. Oūyáng's challenge to monastic prerogatives

As we saw from the dynamics between Tàixū and Wáng Hóngyuàn, there are certain assumptions in lay-monastic relationships regarding prerogatives that are available to the monastic community by virtue of their pure life, whereas they are not available to lay followers. Oūyáng rejected this presupposition and argued that from the Mahāyāna perspective it is a mistake. In a famous essay, he outlined ten mistakes he found in respect to the supposed monastic prerogatives. Prime among them is the mistake that only *śrāvaka*, i.e. ordained monks and nuns, can be considered as a part of the Saṅgha. This is rejected on two accounts. First, he argued, central Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*and the *Vīmalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, distinguish the *śrāvaka saṅgha*from the *Bodhisattva saṅgha*. High Bodhisattvas are monks but they are not part of the *śrāvaka saṅgha*. Second, more relevant for our concern, is that in the *Daśacakra-kṣitigarbha sūtra,*a layperson (worldling or *pārthagjanika*) can hear the preaching of the dharma and be considered a *śramaṇa*on the lowest level. Kuījī's (窺基 632–682) commentary on the sutra explained that in respect to a layperson when "there is no inner discord and one's external affairs are in harmony, one can be considered part of the gem of the Saṅgha" (Ouyang 1995, 44-49).

Oūyáng also argued against the assumption that all laypeople are completely secularized (俗), which in the Buddhist context is understood as someone who

does not observe any precept. In addition, Oūyáng argued that a layperson could receive the Bodhisattva precepts. He argued that laypeople could be a field of merit, serve as teachers and preach the dharma. Finally, he believed that a monk could seek the teaching of a layperson[20] (Ouyang 1995, 44-49). It is not difficult to see why prominent monks were outraged by Oūyáng. Yìnguāng once commented, "Oūyáng Jìngwú is a great king of devils" (Welch 1968, 119). Yìnshùn argued that Oūyáng's circle "specialized in reviling monks and nuns and starting arguments between clergy and laity" (Welch 1968, 34).

4.4. Oūyáng and the failed attempt to establish the first Buddhist Association

In March of 1912, Oūyáng petitioned Sun Yat-sen's newly established government in Beijing to unite Buddhist institutions under the supervision of a Buddhist Association. The historical context was the growing threats that Buddhist faced to their institution progressive forces, greedy officials, bandits and warlords. It was also a response to the attempt to establish Confucianism as a state religion.

The proposal of Oūyáng and his friends provides a vivid picture of the self-confidence they felt in regard to their own ability to assume leadership over the Saṅgha.

> The Association shall have the right to superintend all properties belonging to all Buddhist organizations.
>
> The Association shall have the right to reorganize and promote all Buddhist business affairs.
>
> The Association shall have the right to arbitrate disputes that may arise between Buddhists and to maintain order among them.
>
> The Association shall have the right to require the assistance of the National Government in carrying out all the social, missionary, and philanthropic works stated above.
>
> All activities of the Association within the scope of the law shall not be interfered with by the Government.
>
> The National Government is requested to insert a special article in the Constitution to protect the Association after it has been acknowledged as a lawful organization (Welch 1968, 34).

[20] This was an issue with Tèsōng (see page 9).

What is apparent in this proposal is the deep distrust of these lay Buddhists in the ability of the monastic community to handle effectively the delicate predicament of Buddhism in that period.[21] Welch saw it as no less than "a plan to place the whole Buddhist establishment in the hands of men who despised the Saṅgha."[22] It is this level of distrust between laity and monastic and the attempt not only to suggest a governing body for the Saṅgha but also to assume the leadership role of this institution that was novel in the Republican period.

Initially, the charter was approved by Sun Yat-sen's government, but it provoked a bitter reaction from some of the leading monks at that time. They established their rival association; consequently Oūyáng's association dissolved. However, not long after, another layperson led the Buddhist Association without strong opposition from the monastic community. To consider the leadership of this man as a unique case in the history of lay Buddhism in China, the next section will deal with the career of Zhào Púchū

5. The career of Zhào Púchū 趙樸初 (1907-2000)

5.1. Biography

Zhào was one of the most famous Chinese Buddhists in the latter part of the 20th century, and succeeded in leading the Saṅgha during the tumultuous decades after the Communists took control over China. Interestingly, unlike the monastic leaders' contentions against Wáng and Oūyáng, Zhào's leadership was accepted by most. This can be explained by the historical and political context, which changed radically after 1949, and by the fact that at the same time as Zhào was a Buddhist, he was also an advocate of communism. As such he served as a bridge between the Buddhists and the new state ideology. In China, Zhào is also remembered as a politician and a social activist. No less important, he was also an appreciated calligrapher and poet.

He was born to a family of devout Buddhists in Ānhūi province in 1907. When he was a child his mother often took him to a Buddhist temple to worship the Buddha, and that kindled a lifelong commitment to the Buddhist teachings. As a young man, he enrolled as a student in Dōngwú University (東吳大學) in Sūzhōu. . While recuperating from an illness that forced him to drop out of school, he began to study Buddhism more seriously. Through family connections he became

[21] See Boorman 1970, 48 (vol. 3).

[22] Ibid., 34.

associated with the Enlightenment Garden (覺園), a center for lay Buddhist activists and Buddhist charity work. There, at age 21, he met the eminent Buddhist teacher, Yuányīng (圓瑛 1878-1953), took refuge and studied Buddhist texts with him.

At the same time Zhào also began to serve as the secretary of the Chinese Buddhist Association (中國佛教協會, hereafter CBA) in Shànghăi. During the war with Japan he participated in charity work in the city and after the war ended, with the help of others, he founded the Chinese Association for Promoting Democracy (中國民主促進會).

In the years after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Zhào increased his participation in political and social activities. He participated in international conferences and delegations to promote China's relationship with other countries, such as Burma and Japan. He also participated in peace related activities and organizations. For example, he was a delegate to the Conference on Disarmament and International Cooperation in Stockholm in 1958, was in the Special Conference of the World Peace Council in Stockholm in 1959 and in the 6th World Conference Against the Use of Atomic Bombs in Tokyo in 1960.

5.2. Zhào Púchū as the leader of the Chinese Buddhist Association

In 1949, Buddhists struggled to secure their position in the new political situation. The odds were against them. The Communists were not interested in promoting any religion, but there was not yet any clear sign that it was forbidden. One of the leading figures in the effort to integrate Buddhism into the new China was a monk by the name of Jùzàn (1908–1984 巨贊). Jùzàn was attracted to Socialism from an early age and was the ideal person for the job. In fact, he was ordained under Tàixū to save himself from the Nationalists, who were looking for him because of his involvement with Communist activities in Shànghăi.

Jùzàn diligently sent memorandums to chairman Máo seeking to reform the Saṅgha,[23] but they were repeatedly rejected. However, where Jùzàn failed, Zhào was more successful in soliciting the cooperation of the new regime. In May of 1951, he failed at his first attempt to reestablish the CBA on the mainland (The CBA had been disbanded in 1937.) According to Holmes Welch, Zhào managed to convince the religious affairs section of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Religious

[23] For more information on Jùzàn's reforms see Xué Yú 2009 and Welch 1972, 7-11.

Affairs Division to form the CBA. However, in practice, nothing happened. It seemed that the ruling Communist party was yet to determine its policy towards religious institutions (Welch 1972, 17-18).

Finally, in 1953, the CBA was reestablished. Its inaugural meeting was held in May, exactly two years after Zhào's initial attempt. At first, both Jùzàn and Zhào had a leading role in the newly formed CBA, but Jùzàn's position gradually diminished, whereas Zhào's influence grew. Zhào played a major role in laying the foundations for the future of the CBA (Welch 1972, 19).

The relationship between laity and monks was a part of the CBA's agenda. For example, Zhào announced that the CBA would have no ordinary members. He argued, "ordinary members would lead to inequalities between the Saṅgha and the laity" (Welch 1972, 19). The CBA was then not an organization for Buddhists but functioned more as a mediating body between the Saṅgha and the state, and its leaders, both monks and laymen, were selected. While this move was probably politically motivated, it was another indication that during Communist rule laity would not be assigned a back seat on the Buddhist bus. While in name Yuányīng and then Sherab Gyatso headed the CBA, Holmes Welch argued that in fact Zhào, who served as secretary-general, was the true head (Welch 1972, 23).

The fact that a layman's influence overshadowed that of monks was uncommon in Chinese Buddhism, even in the early years of the PRC. In response to Zhào's leadership Jùzàn complained: "According to Buddhist scriptures, monks and nuns who have left lay life are in charge of the Dharma, whereas Buddhist devotees who remain laymen merely protect the Dharma" (Welch 1972, 10). This was a traditional view held by most of the monastic Buddhists. Monks should decide the governance of the Saṅgha and the laity should support the monastic leadership.

Jùzàn was eventually sentenced to prison in 1967 as a counter-revolutionary. He was released only after the Cultural Revolution in 1980 and died four years later. Zhào's lot was better, despite the fact that even he suffered a setback during the Cultural Revolution. Already in the early years of the CBA, prior to the Cultural Revolution, Zhào was well aware of Buddhists' vulnerable position and of the need to negotiate between a secular regime that was hostile towards religions and Buddhist interests. For example, in response to some Buddhist grievances, Zhào, the *de facto* leader of the largest Buddhist organization in China, did not protest to the regime in an attempt to ease the tensions, but instead sent the Buddhists to do some soul searching. He argued that some of the problems occurred because "the

personal conduct of Buddhists has gotten out of line… the first thing Buddhists should do is to ask whether they themselves have been patriotic and law-abiding and clearly distinguished between the enemy and themselves, between the heterodox and the orthodox" (Welch 1972, 24). Perhaps due to this kind of skillful navigation between the Buddhist community's needs and the hostile political environment, the CBA survived until 1966.

Like many other leaders and intellectuals, Zhào suffered a humiliating fate during the troubled years of the Cultural Revolution. However, he was invited back to public service by Prime Minister Zhōu Ēnlái when he heard about Zhào's predicament and was again appointed the head of the Buddhist Association. When the scholar John Strong visited China in 1972, he was hosted in the headquarters of the newly established CBA in Guǎngjì temple by Zhào Púchū (Sarah Strong and John Strong 1974). Zhào continued to lead the CBA until his death during a period of remarkable growth of Buddhism in China.

Zhào's leadership, as far as I could gather, was remarkable in how uncontroversial it was. Zhào's pragmatic approach in the years after the reestablishment of the CBA probably contributed to his success. Unlike the revolutionary young Zhào, the old Zhào seemed to see the monastic community as the "upholders of the Buddhadharma 住持佛法." However, according to Zhào, while in Theravāda Buddhism there is a fundamental difference between monks and laity, in China (beyond the formal display of respect) the distinction is "not that strict" (Zhào, from his Common Q& A about Buddhism). He seemed less interested in the question of equality and more focused on the complementary roles of the laity and the monastic within the Buddhist community. When asked about the growing role of the laity, Zhào answered, "In Burma, they think that the present age marks the period when the power will shift from the Saṅgha to the laity. But whether this is the direction Chinese Buddhism will take, and whether Buddhism with no monks at all is still Buddhism, it is still too early to say" (Sarah Strong and John Strong 1974, 330). Zhào seemed to believe that if monks, nuns and laity each fulfill their respective roles, Buddhism could become a powerful force in creating a better society and a more peaceful world.

Conclusions

I began this paper by quoting by Helen Hardacre's argument that modern trends have affected the relations between the laity and monastic communities in many of the Buddhist traditions in Asia. The results have been (1) a larger participation in

shaping the future trajectory of Buddhist institutions; (2) a confidence that they, as laypeople, can interpret the sacred teachings, even at variance with the monastic interpretation; (3) a growing skepticism regarding monastic superiority over the lay community; (4) a challenge to the monastic monopoly over funerals and other rituals.

This paper has demonstrated that laity in China have been no different, as is evident from the careers of three notable lay Buddhists in 20th century China. These laypeople pushed the boundaries on all these fronts, and challenged the Saṅgha's authority on their sole right to perform religious rituals (as we saw with Wáng's initiation ceremonies), to interpret the teaching even in a controversial manner that rejected assumptions long held by the monastic authoritative interpretation (as we saw with Oūyáng and his promotion of Yogācāra), and even to attempt to assume leading positions in Buddhist institutions (as both Oūyáng's pioneering attempt and Zhào Púchū's success in leading the CBA demonstrate).

These three examples are by no means isolated. One can add the role of lay associations and initiatives of laypeople, independent of monastic guidance, in reaching out to the larger Chinese population (see for example Welch 1968, 72-86 and Jessup 2010). One can also adduce other controversial laypeople such as the self-proclaimed Chán teacher Nán Huáijǐn (B. 1918 南懷瑾). These examples do not imply that the monastic authority was rejected. In fact, there is little doubt that the majority of lay devotees still looked to the monastic Saṅgha as the embodiment of the Buddha in the world and the upholders of his teaching. However, this traditional assumption that the monastic Saṅgha have a monopoly of religious authority, which was the *modus operandi* of the pre-modern period, has been consistently challenged by the laity since the early 20th century and resulted in a more egalitarian lay-monastic relationship.

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A comparison of the Pāli and Chinese versions of the *Devatā Saṃyutta* and *Devaputta Saṃyutta*, collections of early Buddhist discourses on *devatā*s "gods" and *devaputra*s "sons of gods"*

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This article first examines the textual structure of the Pāli *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyutta*s in conjunction with two other versions preserved in Chinese translation in a collection entitled 諸天相應 *Zhutian Xiangying* in Taishō 2, nos. 99 and 100. Then it compares the main teachings contained in the three versions.

Introduction

The *Devatā Saṃyutta* and *Devaputta Saṃyutta* of the Pāli *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (abbreviated SN) are represented in a collection entitled 諸天相應 *Zhutian Xiangying* (Skt. *Devatā Saṃyukta*) in Chinese by two versions, one in the *Za Ahan Jing* 雜阿含經 (*Saṃyuktāgama*, abbreviated SA, Taishō vol. 2, no. 99), the other in the *Bieyi Za Ahan Jing* 別譯雜阿含經 (*Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama*, abbreviated ASA, Taishō vol. 2, no. 100). These two *saṃyutta*s in the Pāli version and their counterparts, which form one *xiangying* 相應 (*saṃyukta*) in the two Chinese versions, are the collections of various discourses on the subject of gods (*devatā*, 諸天 *zhutian*) and sons of gods (*devaputta*, 天子 *tianzi*, Skt. *devaputra*). The discourses contained in the Pāli and Chinese versions of the *Devatā*

* I am indebted to Rod Bucknell for his constructive comments and corrections on a draft of this article, particularly in the area of textual structure. I am also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments and corrections.

and *Devaputta Saṃyutta*s reflect the early Buddhist adaptation of general Indian religious beliefs about *deva*s (divine beings) and dialogues with *deva*s at the time of the Buddha.

The Pāli and the two Chinese versions record in common that the *deva*s (a *deva* or *devaputra*) usually come to visit the Buddha in the last watch of the night. They sometimes come to ask questions, to praise the Buddha, to request instruction, or to challenge him. The conversations recorded in the three versions between the *deva*s and the Buddha are in verse.

In this article I first briefly examine the textual structure of the three versions. Then I compare the main teachings contained in them, making use of new editions of Saṃyuktāgama: Yin Shun's Za Ahan Jing Lun Huibian 雜阿含經論會編 [Combined Edition of Sūtra and Śāstra of the Saṃyuktāgama] (abbreviated CSA) and the Foguang Tripiṭaka Za Ahan Jing (abbreviated FSA).[1] This will reveal similarities and differences in structure and doctrinal content, thus advancing the study of early Buddhist teachings in this area.[2]

1. Textual structure

The Pāli *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyutta*s are the first and second of the eleven *saṃyutta*s comprised in the *Sagāthā Vagga* of *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. The two corresponding Chinese versions, one in Taishō edition vol. 2, no. 99 (*Saṃyuktāgama*) and the other in Taishō vol. 2, no. 100 (*Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama*), do not have any title of the collections, including the section title, *Sagāthā Vagga*. They were translated from now lost Indic-language originals. In the *Combined Edition of Sūtra and Śāstra of the Saṃyuktāgama* version, the *Saṃyuktāgama* text bears the title *Zhutian Xiangying* 諸天相應 (*Devatā Saṃyukta* 'Connected with Gods' or 'Connected Discourses with Gods') comprised in the title Eight Assem-

[1] These two new editions contain textual corrections, modern Chinese punctuation, comments, and up-to-date information on Pāli and other textual counterparts, including different Chinese versions of the text.

[2] This article is one in a series of comparative studies, of which the previous articles were on *Kosala Saṃyutta* (2006a) and *Māra Saṃyutta* (2009b) in the *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*; on *Bhikkhu Saṃyutta* (2006b) and *Vaṅgīsa Saṃyutta* (2007) in *Buddhist Studies Review*; and on *Brāhmaṇa Saṃyutta* (2009a) in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

blies Section (the *Ba zhong*[3] *Song* 八眾誦) supplied by the editor, Yin Shun.[4] The *Zhutian Xiangying* is the counterpart of the Pāli *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyutta*s.

In earlier editions of the *Saṃyuktāgama*, *xiangying* 相應/*saṃyukta* titles are lacking and the beginning and end of each *saṃyukta* have to be inferred from the *sūtra* contents. Because *saṃyukta* titles are lacking in earlier editions of *Saṃyuktāgama*, the collection entitled *Zhutian Xiangying* (*Devatā Saṃyukta*) in the *Combined Edition of Sūtra and Śāstra of the Saṃyuktāgama* version cannot be regarded as originally in *Saṃyuktāgama* a single *saṃyukta* rather than two.

The *Zhutian Xiangying* is the ninth of the eleven *saṃyukta*s in the Section of the reconstructed *Saṃyuktāgama* version (Choong 2000, pp. 20, 247). The same location – the ninth of the eleven *saṃyukta*s – applies also to the reconstructed *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version.[5]

The Pāli *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyutta*s belong to the Tāmraśāṭiya/Vibhajyavāda school (often called Theravāda), the *Saṃyuktāgama* version belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school, and the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version may belong to the Kāśyapīya school (or to an unidentified school).[6] Thus, these

[3] Skt. *aṣṭau pariṣadaḥ*; P. *aṭṭha parisā*.

[4] The section title, 八眾誦 *Bazhong Song*, is not found in the T vol. 2 of the SA version (no. 99) and the ASA version (no. 100). See CSA i, pp. 48-49 (in '*Za Ahan Jing Bulei zhi Zhengbian* 雜阿含經部類之整編 [Re-edition of the Grouped Structure of SA]'), and vol. iii, p. 219. T 30, no. 1579 (*Yogācārabhūmi śāstra*), pp. 294a, 772c: 八眾. T 24, no. 1451 (the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*), p. 407 on the title *Sagāthā Vagga*. Cf. also Bucknell (2007) for a discussion on the sequence of the *Sagātha-vagga* and the Eight Assemblies. The author considers that the sequence of the *Sagātha-vagga* derives from the Eight Assemblies. See also CSA i, pp. 7-9, 22-3, 44-5, 64-5, and Choong (2010).

[5] Yin Shun (1971), pp. 670-672; CSA i, p. 23, note 10.

[6] Yin Shun (1971), p. 98; CSA i, pp. 4-5, 43; Mayeda (1964), p. 662, note 19; Choong (2000), pp. 6-7, (2006), p. 62, note 3. Bingenheimer (2009) argues that the attribution of the ASA version to the Kāśyapīya school by 法幢 Hōdo in 阿毘達磨俱舍論稽古 *Abidatsuma Kusharon Keiko/ Abidamo Jishelun Qigu* (T64, no. 2252) is mistaken. However, his article does not clearly respond to the important point made by Yin Shun about the big and small collections (大小二本) of the *Saṃyuktāgama* text (CSA i, pp. 4-5, note 12, pp. 28, 43). Both Bingenheimer and recently Bucknell (2011) also argue that the ASA version should belong to the Sarvāstivāda school, because its textual structure is close to the SA version of the Sarvāstivāda. However, the structure of the whole organisation of the ASA version is clearly not the same as the SA version of the Sarvāstivāda school (Mayeda 1964, pp. 652-654; Yin Shun 1971, pp. 668-671, 675; CSA i, pp. 5, 23, 28, 43). A few divergences between the two versions (SA and ASA) also have been pointed out by Mizuno Kōgen (in his two articles, 1969-70 and 1970. Cf. Jin-il Chung 2008, p. 22, note 70). I consider that the similarities between the two versions should not be over-emphasised, and the differences between the two should not be entirely ignored. The similarities between the two versions may only indicate

three texts, the Pāli and its two Chinese versions, represent three different early Buddhist schools, three different versions of the same collection of discourses on the subject of gods and sons of gods.

The Pāli *Devatā Saṃyutta* comprises eighty-one discourses (SN 1.1–81), and the *Devaputta Saṃyutta* comprises thirty discourses (SN 2.1–30), totaling 111 discourses. Of their Chinese counterparts, the *Saṃyuktāgama* version has 108 discourses (SA 995–1022, 576–603, 1267–1318) and the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version has 110 discourses (ASA 132–142, 231–249, 161–172, 181–189, 173–180, 269–292, 291–317). The *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version has two extra discourses (ASA 139, 235) not found in the *Saṃyuktāgama* version, whereas the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version has three extra discourses not found in the *Saṃyuktāgama* version. The three versions nevertheless contain almost the same number of discourses (111 discourses in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, 108 in the *Saṃyuktāgama*, and 110 discourses in *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama*).

Thirty discourses in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions have no Pāli counterparts in the *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyuttas*.[7] The full set of Chinese-Pāli and Pāli-Chinese counterparts is shown in

they were descended from a 'near' common ancestor, but does not prove beyond doubt that they belong to the same school. For example, the SN and SA versions share a very similar structure, which suggests they were descended from a near common ancestor (i.e., the Sthavira tradition), but in fact they belong to the two different Sthavira schools (i.e., the Vibhajyavāda/Vibhajjavāda and Sarvāstivāda/Sabbatthivāda) (cf. CSA i, pp. 43-5). I therefore consider that the ASA version should not be regarded as belonging beyond doubt to the Sarvāstivāda, although its textual structure is close to the SA version of the Sarvāstivāda. Also, I consider that the Sarvāstivāda is not a different school from the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda (cf. Nagasaki and Kaji 2004, pp. 16-7).

[7] SA 1012, 577, 590-592, 594, 603, 1270-1272, 1278-1280, 1282-1285, 1290-1301, 1314; ASA 239, 162, 184-186, 188, 190, 269-270, 276-278, 280-283, 288-300, 313. Four discourses in the SA and ASA versions have their Pāli counterparts in both the *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyuttas* (SA 586 = ASA 170 = SN 1.21, SN 2.16; SA 593 = ASA 187 = SN 2.20, SN 1.48; SA 595 = ASA 189 = SN 2.24, SN 1.50; SA 1310 = ASA 309 = SN 2.4, SN 1.26). Five discourses in the SA version and six discourses in the ASA version have their Pāli counterparts located in two collections (*Yakkha* and *Brahma Saṃyutta*) other than the *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyuttas* (SA 577 = ASA 162 = SN 10.2; SA 592 = ASA 186 = SN 10.8; SA 1278 = ASA 276 = SN 6.10; SA 1300 = ASA 298 = SN 10.1; ASA 299 = SN 10.2; SA 1314 = ASA 313 = SN 10. 3). On the other hand, nineteen discourses in the Pāli version have no SA counterparts, while eighteen discourses in the Pāli have no ASA counterparts (SN 1.4 (no SA counterpart only), 1.33, 1.41, 1.44, 1.45, 1.49, 1.52, 1.63, 1.65-67, 1.69, 1.76-79, 2.10, 2.13, and SN 2.27). Finally, two discourses in the Pāli version have their Chinese counterparts not in the *Zhutian Xiangying* (SN 1.20 = 比丘相應 *Biqiu Xiangying* SA 1078 = ASA 17; SN 1.37 = 梵天相應 *Fantian Xiangying* SA 1192 = ASA 105).

Tables 1 and 2 (see Appendix). These two tables are useful for the convenience of discussions on the textual structure and content.

Fragmentary Sanskrit counterparts of segments of the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* version (and the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version) were published by Fumio Enomoto (1994).[8] The published Sanskrit counterparts of the discourses on the subject of gods and sons of gods consist of forty-five fragments, corresponding to SA 995, 1008-1009, 1013-1014, 1018, 1021, 576, 578, 583, 587-588, 592, 595-597, 599-603, 1267, 1269-1276, 1278, 1282-1283, 1285-1286, 1291, 1299-1300, 1307, 1309-1311, 1314-1316.[9] These fragmentary Sanskrit texts are useful for confirming certain Chinese technical terms.

The identification of the Chinese-Pāli and Pāli-Chinese counterparts is shown in the tables. As is indicated in Table 1, the discourses of both the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions are out of order with regard to the structural arrangement. The rearrangement of the discourses indicated in Table 1 is according to the *Combined Edition of Sūtra and Śāstra of the Saṃyuktāgama* version. The method of effecting this rearrangement of the discourses is mainly based on the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* 'twenty-fascicle' version compared with the structural order of the *Saṃyuktāgama* version.[10] As is evident in the two tables, the discourses in the two Chinese versions match up with each other closely as regards sequence, while matching up only loosely with the discourses of the Pāli version. The *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions are therefore structurally much closer to each other than to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version.

While the distinction or division between the *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyutta*s is not explicit in the Chinese collections as it is in the Pāli, the comparison reveals that the distinction is in fact present, even if only implicitly. From SA 1302 = ASA 301 to the end of Table 1 (3rd column) there is a clear cluster of discourses whose Pāli parallels are in the *Devaputta Saṃyutta*. This cluster looks like the *Saṃyuktāgama*/*Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* counterpart of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*'s *Devaputta Saṃyutta*.

To explain further, in Table 1, third column (SN), the Pāli counterparts contained in the *Devaputta Saṃyutta* are not evenly distributed. Instead they are

[8] Enomoto (1982), pp. 87–90. Cf. also Chung (2008), pp. 232–243.

[9] ASA 132, 234-236, 240-241, 245, 248, 161, 163, 167, 171-172, 186, 189, 181-182, 173-174, 176-177, 180, 178, 269-270, 271-274, 276, 280-281, 283-284, 286, 297-298, 306, 308-310, 313-315.

[10] See Yin Shun (1971), pp. 668-671; CSA i, pp. 23, 48-49; iii, pp. 219-325. Cf. also Bucknell (2008) on the discussion 'The Two Versions of the Other Translation of *Saṃyuktāgama*'.

heavily concentrated at the end. Of the last seventeen discourses of the *Saṃyuktāgama/Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* (1302/301 to the end of the list), fourteen have their *Saṃyutta-nikāya* counterparts in the *Devaputta Saṃyutta*. In contrast, of the previous ninety-four discourses in *Saṃyuktāgama*, only ten have their counterparts in the *Devaputta Samyutta*, and those ten are fairly randomly scattered. Thus, the situation is:

- Of the first ninety-four discourses of the *Saṃyuktāgama*, ten have their *Saṃyutta-nikāya* counterparts in the *Devaputta* = 11%
- Of the last seventeen discourses of the *Saṃyuktāgama*, fourteen have their *Saṃyutta-nikāya* counterparts in the *Devaputta* = 82%

How can one account for this very uneven distribution? If one supposes that the distinction between *Devatā* and *Devaputta* developed only in the Pāli tradition, i.e., after its separation from the Sarvāstivāda, then there is no way of explaining the uneven distribution. If, however, one supposes that the distinction existed already before the first split in the Sthavira tradition, then the uneven distribution is explained very simply: the dense aggregation of *Devaputta* counterparts at the end of the list (Table 1, SA 1302-1318) reflects the earlier clear division of the discourses into two *saṃyutta*s/*saṃyukta*s. Clearly the second possibility is to be preferred: the division into two *saṃyutta*s seen in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version is not an innovation introduced in the Pāli tradition.[11]

Accordingly, it is likely that the *Saṃyuktāgama/Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* traditions formerly had two separate collections, and that the boundary between them has been obscured following loss or lack of the saṃyukta titles. Otherwise, how can one explain the fact that in the *Saṃyuktāgama/Additional*

[11] On this, a reviewer suggests:

"While I agree that this conclusion is the most plausible one, there are other alternatives. One is that the situation in the Chinese represents, not a decayed form of a previously clear structure, but the natural, more primitive state of an emerging structure. That is, discourses tended to be recited together with others of a similar nature, even before they were formally collected in the *saṃyutta* structure. The redactors took this natural tendency, and further shaped it into the *saṃyutta* structure as we have it today. If this was the case, then the Chinese texts could represent an earlier, less formalized tradition. These two hypotheses would have to be tested against other conclusions as to the relative ages and structural processes of the collections.

Another alternative is the 'later levelling' hypothesis, which argues that standardization between texts is more likely to be a sign of later canonization than a shared early source. The *devatā/devaputta* distinction is not an early one, but arose in the southern Pāli tradition, and subsequently influenced the northern collections. I don't think this kind of thinking is plausible, but it is one possible explanation, and it is worth explaining why it is so implausible – primarily, because there is no evidence at all of this kind of levelling happening."

Translation of Saṃyuktāgama most of the counterparts of Pāli *Devaputta* discourses are together as a solid block (SA 1302-1318, ASA 301-317 at the end of the *saṃyukta*)? A blurring of the boundary is seen even in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, with four discourses being duplicated in the two *saṃyutta*s; e.g., SN 1.21 = SN 2.16.

2. The terms *devatā* (god) and *devaputra* (son of gods) in the three versions

Devatā, meaning divine nature, deity or god, is an abstract noun based on *deva*. The Pāli *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version has two closely related collections, the *Devatā Saṃyutta* and the *Devaputta Saṃyutta*. It indicates that those gods who have no names are called *devatā*s (mostly in the *Devatā Saṃyutta*), while those who have names are called *devaputta*s (mostly in the *Devaputta Saṃyutta*). However, some verses in the *Devaputta Saṃyutta* also appear in the *Devatā Saṃyutta*. This suggests that the distinction between the two terms referring to the gods is not clearly apparent and not absolutely necessary.[12] *Devaputta*s (also *devadhītā*s 'daughters of the gods'[13]) in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version are all examples of *devatā*s or gods (*deva*s) in general.[14]

By contrast, the terms *devatā* and *devaputra* are always indiscriminately translated in the *Saṃyuktāgama* version as 天子 *tianzi* (literally, 'sons of gods/heaven'), and in the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version as 天 *tian* (literally 'gods', 'deity', or 'heaven'). The term, 天神 *tianshen* ('deity', 'gods'), is also used in a few discourses in the two Chinese versions.[15] Comparison with the Sanskrit fragments (Enomoto 1994) reveals that the terms, 天子 and 天神, in the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* correspond sometimes to Sanskrit *devatā* in the fragments, and

[12] Cf. Rhys Davids (1917), p. 66, note 4, p. 67, note 1, p. 76, note 4, p. 79, notes 1-3, p. 80, note 2, and pp. 84, 87; Bodhi (2000), pp. 75-76.

[13] SN 1.39-40 (SN I 1884, pp. 29-31; 1998, pp. 61-64) = SA 1273-1274 (T 2, pp. 349c-350c; CSA iii, pp. 278-281; FSA 4, pp. 2118-2123) = ASA 271-272 (T 2, p. 469a-b).

[14] Cf. Rhys Davids (1917), p. 1, note 1, and p. 65, note 1, on the Pāli terms *devatā* and *devaputtā*.

[15] SA 585 (T 2, p. 155b-c; CSA iii, pp. 249-250; FSA 4, pp. 2066-2068) = ASA 169 (T 2, p. 436b-c) = SN 2.18 (SN I 1884, pp. 54-55; 1998, pp. 123-125); SA 590-591 (T 2, pp. 156c-157b; CSA iii, pp. 254-256; FSA 4, pp. 2074-2079) = ASA 184-185 (pp. 439b-440c); SA 592 (T 2, pp. 157b-158b; CSA iii, pp. 257-260; FSA 4, pp. 2079-2085) = ASA 186 (T 2, pp. 440b-441c) = SN 10.8 (SN I 1884, pp. 210-212; 1998, pp. 455-458).

sometimes to Sanskrit *devaputra*.[16] Thus, evidently in the Indic source-text the Chinese translators of *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* did not distinguish between these two Sanskrit terms, *devatā* and *devaputra*. The *Saṃyuktāgama* translator preferred 天子; the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* translator preferred 天.

In most of the discourses in *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* which provide the name of 天子 or 天, their Pāli counterparts are located in the *Devaputta Saṃyutta*, whereas in most of the discourses in *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* which do *not* provide the name of 天子 or 天, their Pāli counterparts are located in the *Devatā Saṃyutta*. This correlates with the *devaputta*/*deva* distinction in *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. Also, in the case of the duplicate discourses, for example, SN 1.26 and 2.4, or SA 1269 and 1316, one gives the god's name, the other does not; this is found in both Chinese and *Saṃyutta-nikāya* versions. The duplicates are just a few cases, not a solid block, as shown in the two tables. They are exceptions in the structure, and may indicate that a *devaputta* is also a *devatā*. It seems to show that the allocation to *Devatā* or to *Devaputta* depended simply on whether the god's name is specified (except for SN 1.39-40; cf. Bodhi 2000, p. 74).

Accordingly, the findings indicate that the distinction between (1) discourses mentioning the god's name and (2) discourses not mentioning the god's name was recognised in the Sthavira tradition before the Pāli and Sarvāstivādin branches separated. This is also a further indication that the distinction between *devaputta* and *devatā* was recognised at that time, and is not something unique to the Pāli tradition.

3. Disagreements on some teachings contained in the three versions

In the following I will discuss only the principal disagreements on some teachings presented in the three versions of *devatā*, including *devaputra*s, under eight topics: (1) a verse presented by the *deva*s, (2) the heavenly palace, (3) the notion of emptiness, (4) on a practice of a lay person, (5) the *devaputra* Anāthapiṇḍada,

[16] For example, 天子 in SA 583 (= 天子 in ASA 167) corresponds to *devatā* (at Enomoto's fragments in p. 3); 天神 in SA 592 (= 天神 and 天 in ASA 186) corresponds to both *devaputra* and *devatā* (Enomoto, pp. 5-6); 天子 in SA 1267 (= 天 in ASA 180) corresponds to *devatā* ('*devate*' shown in the text at Enomoto, p. 52); and 天子 in SA 1291 and 1299 (= 天 in ASA 289 and 297) corresponds to *devatā* (Enomoto, p. 57).

(6) the heaven of Atappa or Aviha, (7) eccentric expressions, and (8) a *devaputra* possessed by Māra.

(1) A verse presented by the *deva*s

As stated in the introduction, the three versions share in common that the devas usually come to visit the Buddha in the last watch of the night. The conversations between the *deva*s and the Buddha are in verse. One of the verses presented by the *deva*s is frequently recorded at the end of most discourses in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions, but found in only one discourse in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version (SN 1.1). The verse in the *Saṃyuktāgama* version is (e.g., T 2, p. 348b):

> 久見婆羅門　逮得般涅槃
> 一切怖已過　永超世恩愛[17]
> After a long time I see a Brāhmaṇa
> who has attained final nirvāṇa.
> Having overcome all fear
> He has gone beyond attachment in the world.

The corresponding *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version has (e.g., T 2, p. 438a):

> 往昔已曾見　婆羅門涅槃
> 久捨於嫌畏　能度世間愛
> After a long time I see a Brāhmaṇa
> who has attained nirvāṇa.
> Having overcome hatred and fear
> he has gone beyond attachment in the world.

The verse in both *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions indicates clearly that the *deva* calls the Buddha a Brāhmaṇa (usually rendered Brahmin/Brahman in English). A similar verse is found in only one discourse in the Pāli version, SN 1.1. It reads:[18]

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[17] Cf. Sanskrit version, Enomoto (1994, p. 12):
cirasya bata paśyāmi brāhmaṇaṃ parinirvṛtam|
sarvavairabhayātītaṃ tīrṇaṃ loke viṣaktikām||

[18] SN I 1884, p. 1; 1998, p. 2. Cf. Rhys Davids (1917), p. 2; Bodhi (2000), p. 89.

cirassaṃ vata passāmi
brāhmaṇaṃ parinibbutaṃ
appatiṭṭhaṃ anāyūhaṃ
tiṇṇaṃ loke visattikan ti.
After a long time I see a Brāhmaṇa
who has attained final nirvāṇa.
By not halting, not striving,
he has gone beyond attachment in the world.

Accordingly, the major issue is that the use of the verse is repeatedly presented at the end of nearly all discourses in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions. Only a few discourses (out of 108 and 110 discourses) in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions do not have this similar verse.[19] Such a situation is not found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version. It may suggest that the two Chinese traditions emphasise the notion of the Brāhmaṇa more than the Pāli tradition does. Although the verse mentioned more often in the Chinese collections is merely an artificial feature of the texts, a formulaic repetition, it does highlight the close connection between the early Buddhist tradition and the brahmanical tradition (cf. Choong 2007, p. 39).

(2) The Heavenly palace

In the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version, the *deva*s are recorded as living in their 'heavenly palace' (天宮 *tiangong*). Most of the discourses in the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version report that the *deva*s, after having their conversations with the Buddha, return to their heavenly palaces. By contrast, the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Saṃyutta-nikāya* versions state that the *deva*s disappear right there and then, after having their conversations with the Buddha. Only one *Saṃyuktāgama* discourse, SA 1284 (T 2, pp. 353b-354a), mentions this term, 宮殿 *gongdian* 'palace'. Its counterpart, ASA 282 (T 2, p. 472a-b), also has this term, but it is not found in the corresponding Pāli term (i.e., *pura* or *vimāna* 'palace') in the counterpart, *Jātaka* 243 *Guttilajātaka* (J. ii, pp. 248-257). The

[19] E.g., SA 999 = ASA 136, SA 582, SA 583 = ASA 167, SA 590-591 = ASA 184-185, SA 593-595 = ASA 187-189, SA 1270-1274 = ASA 269-272, SA 1278 = ASA 276, SA 1284 = ASA 282, SA 1289 = ASA 287, SA 1300-1318 = ASA 298, 300-317.

*deva*s in the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version have actual heavenly palaces to reside in, something that is evidently lacking from the corresponding *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Saṃyutta-nikāya* versions. This indicates a major difference regarding the nature of the *deva*s between the *Saṃyuktāgama/Saṃyutta-nikāya* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions. The references in the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version to 'heavenly palaces' for the *deva*s' residential areas are possibly a later addition.[20]

(3) The Notion of Emptiness (SA 1318 = SN 2.1-2 = ASA 317; SA 1285 = ASA 283, no SN counterpart; SA 1286 = SN 1. 34, 36 = ASA 284)

ASA 317 (T 2, p. 480) reports a *devaputra* named Kāśyapa (迦葉 Jiexie) comes to address the Buddha regarding what are the trainings for a *bhikṣu* (monk) thus:

> 比丘能具念　心得善解脱
> 願求得涅槃　已知於世間
> 解有及非有　深知諸法空
> 是名為比丘　離有獲涅槃
> A *bhikṣu* who is able to be mindful,
> His mind can well attain liberation.
> He wishes to obtain nirvāṇa,
> Knows the world [of its absolute reality],
> Understands existence and non-existence,
> Deeply knows all *dharma*s are empty (深知諸法空).
> This is called a *bhikṣu*.
> He, who is away from [attachment to any] existences, obtains nirvāṇa.

This *Additional Translation of* the *Saṃyuktāgama* discourse has this expression, 'all *dharma*s are empty' (諸法空). This expression is not found in the counterparts, SA 1318 and SN 2. 1-2.[21] The *Saṃyuktāgama* version in this regard is closer to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version. A similar expression is also found in another dis-

[20]Many references to returning to a heavenly palace are also found elsewhere in the *Māra Saṃyukta* of the ASA version. Choong 2009 (b), p. 43. Cf. also a discussion on the *Vimāna Vatthu* ('Matter of Heavenly Palaces') of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* in Yin Shun (1971), pp. 849-852 and Mayeda (1964), pp. 760-763.

[21]T 2, pp. 361c-362a; CSA iii, p. 324; FSA 4, p. 2206. SN I 1884, pp. 46-47; 1998, pp. 104-105. Cf. Rhys Davids (1917), pp. 65-66; Bodhi (2000), pp. 139-140.

course in the *Additional Translation of* the *Saṃyuktāgama* version, no. 283 (T 2, p. 472):

> … 觀諸法空林
> … observes all *dharma*s are as empty as a forest

Its corresponding SA 1285 (no *Saṃyutta-nikāya* counterpart) does not have such a statement.[22] To say that 'all *dharma*s are empty' and 'all *dharma*s are as empty as a forest' is a unique phrase not found in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Saṃyutta-nikāya* versions.

Nevertheless, SA 1286 has this expression:[23]

> 於身虛空想　名色不堅固
> In the personality one has the perception of emptiness, [observes] name-and-material form is not solid.

Its corresponding ASA 284 (T 2, p. 473) reads:

> 知身空無我　觀名色不堅
> One knows the personality is empty, not self, observes name-and-material form is not solid.

However, these are not saying that 'all *dharma*s' are empty (as ASA 317 does, above) and 'all *dharma*s' are as empty as a forest (as ASA 283 does, above). They (SA 1286 = ASA 284) only indicate that 'the personality' is empty of solid, empty of entity (self).

Consequently, the expressions, 'all *dharma*s are empty' and 'all *dharma*s are as empty as a forest', in the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version (ASA 317, 283), are likely to be a sectarian doctrine. This may also indicate that the *Additional Translation of the Saṃyuktāgama* version does not belong to the same school as the *Saṃyuktāgama* version of the Sarvāstivāda (cf. footnote 6 above).

(4) On a practice of a lay person (SA 590 = ASA 184; no SN counterpart)

SA 590 reports a lay follower (優婆塞 *youpose*, *upāsaka*), having a conversation on dharma in verse with a *deva* (天神 *tianshen*). He is a merchant, has faith in

[22] T 2, p. 354a-b; CSA iii, p. 294; FSA 4, pp. 2148-2149.
[23] T 2, p. 354b-c; CSA iii, p. 295; FSA 4, pp. 2150-2151.

the Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha without doubt, sees the Four Noble Truths without uncertainty, and obtains the first fruit of understanding (第一無間等果 *diyi wujiandeng guo*). This lay follower, during the last watch of the night, sits cross-legged, setting up mindfulness in front of him, and:

> observes the twelve factors of causal condition in the reverse and forward orders (十二因緣逆順觀察)[24]

However, its counterpart, ASA 184, has a different account. It first reports similarly that a lay follower, having a conversation on *dharma* in verse with a 三寶 *sanbao*), has pure faith (淨信 *jingxin*) without doubt in the Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha, has no uncertainty regarding the Four Noble Truths, achieves seeing the truth (見諦 *jiandi*), and attains the first fruit (初果 *chuguo*). But, the lay follower, in the early morning, sits cross-legged, holding the body straight, setting up mindfulness in front of him, and he:

> … chants the sūtras aloud, chanting the dharma verses, the *Poluo sūtra* (波羅經?[25]), and various other sūtras and verses ("高聲誦經。誦法句偈。及波羅經。種種經偈。).[26]

Contemplating the twelve factors of dependent origination and reciting texts are quite different practices. Also, the term 'Three Jewels' in the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version is not found in the corresponding *Saṃyuktāgama* version. The practice of chanting can be seen as a form of devotional faith in the Three Jewels. The two versions here thus indicate their different traditions on a practice by a lay follower and a merchant.

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[24]"爾時。商人中有一優婆塞信佛・信法・信比丘僧。一心向佛・法・僧。歸依佛・法・僧。於佛離疑。於法・僧離疑。於苦・集・滅・道離疑。見四聖諦得第一無間等果。在商人中與諸商人共為行侶。彼優婆塞於後夜時端坐思惟。繫念在前。於十二因緣逆順觀察。所謂是事有故是事有。是事起故是事起。謂緣無明行。緣行識。緣識名色。緣名色六入處。緣六入處觸。緣觸受。緣受愛。緣愛取。緣取有。緣有生。緣生老・死・憂・悲・惱・苦。如是純大苦聚集。如是無明滅則行滅。行滅則識滅。識滅則名色滅。名色滅則六入處滅。六入處滅則觸滅。觸滅則受滅。受滅則愛滅。愛滅則取滅。取滅則有滅。有滅則生滅。生滅則老・死・憂・悲・惱・苦滅。如是・如是純大苦聚滅。" T 2, pp. 156c-157a; CSA iii, pp. 254-256; FSA 4, pp. 2074-2077.

[25]A reviewer suggests that this may refer to the *Bhāra Sutta* (SN 22. 22: III, pp. 25-26). The Chinese counterpart of this text is SA 73 (T 2, p. 19a-b; CSA i, pp. 120-121; FSA 1, pp. 119-120).

[26]時商估中。有優婆塞。於三寶所。深得淨信。歸佛法僧。於佛法僧。得了決定。無有狐疑。又於四諦。亦無疑心。已得見諦。獲於初果。晨朝早起。正身端坐。繫念在前。高聲誦經。誦法句偈。及波羅經 (緣/經 indicated in note 8)。種種經偈。" T 2, p. 439c.

(5) The *devaputra* Anāthapiṇḍada (SA 593 = SN 2.20; 1.48 = ASA 187)

SA 593[27] = SN 2.20; 1.48 (verse only)[28] = ASA 187 (latter part only[29]) report in common that a *devaputra* called Anāthapiṇḍada (*Saṃyuktāgama*: 給孤獨 *geigudu*, *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama*: 須達/須達多 *xudaduo* = Sudatta;[30] P. Anāthapiṇḍika) comes to visit the Buddha. He recites verses not only in praise of the Buddha-dharma but also particularly in honour of Śāriputra (舍利弗 Shelifo, P. Sāriputta). However, some significant differences in the story between the three versions are also found, as the following shows.

(a) SA 593 mentions that after he dies on account of sickness, Anāthapiṇḍada is reborn into the Tuṣita heaven (兜率天 *doushuai tian*). He then comes from the Tuṣita heaven to visit the Buddha. However, no such a heaven is mentioned in the counterparts, SN 2.20 and ASA 187 (which the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version only states that Anāthapiṇḍada is reborn into an unnamed heaven; see also footnote 29, above).

(b) The *Saṃyuktāgama* version at the end of the discourse reports the Buddha as saying:

> 爾時。世尊以尊者舍利弗故。而說偈言。
> 一切世間智　唯除於如來　比舍利弗智　十六不及一
> 如舍利弗智　天人悉同等　比於如來智　十六不及一
> At that time, the World-Honoured One (the Buddha), because of the venerable Śāriputra, speaks in verse thus:
> Except for the Tathāgata, the wisdom of all others in the world is but a sixteenth part of the wisdom of Śāriputra.
> The wisdom of Śāriputra together with all gods and men is but a sixteenth part of the Tathāgata's wisdom.[31]

These words are not found in the corresponding *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions. Thus the *Saṃyuktāgama* version

[27] T 2, p. 158b-c; CSA iii, pp. 260-261; FSA 4, pp. 2085-2087.

[28] SN I 1884, pp. 55-56, 33-34; 1998, pp. 126-128, 71. Cf. Rhys Davids (1917), pp. 79-80, 46-47; Bodhi (2000), pp. 151-152, 103-104.

[29] T 2, p. 441c: "須達長者於佛去後。尋於其夜。身壞命終。得生天上。…"

[30] This is his given name. See SA 592 (T 2, pp. 157b-158b; CSA iii, pp. 257-260; FSA 4, pp. 2079-2085) = SN 10.8 (SN I 1884, pp. 210-212; 1998, pp. 455-458. Cf. Rhys Davids 1917, pp. 271-273; Bodhi 2000, pp. 311-313) = ASA 186 (T 2, pp. 440b-441a).

[31] I have here adopted the translation suggested by a reviewer.

depicts the Buddha claiming wisdom superior to that of Śāriputra and other gods and humans.[32]

In summary, both points, Anāthapiṇḍada being reborn into the heaven of Tuṣita and the Buddha claiming superior understanding, are found only in the *Saṃyuktāgama* version.[33]

(6) The heaven of Atappa or of Aviha (SA 594 = ASA 188; no SN counterpart, cf. AN 3.125 Hatthaka)

SA 594 and its counterpart ASA 188 state in common that a *devaputra* Hastaka (*shou tianzi*, *Saṃyuktāgama*: 手天子, *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama*: 首天子) comes to tell the Buddha that he practises the three dharmas (三法 *sanfa*), therefore, is reborn in the heaven of Atappa (無熱天 *wure tian*). These discourses have no *Saṃyutta-nikāya* counterpart, but instead have their Pāli counterpart in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, AN 3.125. However, this states that a *devaputra* Hastaka (P. Hatthaka) is from the heaven of Aviha (Skt. Abṛha/Avṛha), not Atappa, and he comes to tell the Buddha that he practises the three *dharma*s, which are similar to the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions. The three *dharma*s are: never having enough of seeing the Buddha, hearing the dharma, and serving the Saṅgha.[34]

Here the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions say he is reborn in the heaven of Atappa, whereas the Pāli AN version states

[32] However, a similar view is also found in the *Vaṅgīsa-thera Saṃyukta* in the ASA version. Choong (2007), p. 40, note 16.

[33] However, Anāthapiṇḍada reborn into the Tuṣita heaven is also found in the Pāli MN 143 *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda Sutta*. Cf. Malalasekera (1937), p. 71. On the English translation of MN 143, see Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi (1995), pp. 1109-1113, and Horner (1959), pp. 309-315. On other sources of Anāthapiṇḍika, see also Akanuma (1967), pp. 32-35. A related story of Anāthapiṇḍada is found in MA 28 (T 1, pp. 458b-461b). It does not mention that Anāthapiṇḍada dies of a sickness, but he recovers from his sickness after hearing the teachings of Śāriputra. Anālayo (2010, p. 5, note 4) argues that Akanuma's identification that MN 143 has a parallel in MA 28 is incorrect.

[34] SA: "佛告手天子。汝於此人間時。於幾法無厭足故。而得生彼無熱天中。手天子白佛。世尊。我於三法無厭足故。身壞命終。生無熱天。何等三法。我於見佛無厭故。身壞命終生無熱天。我於佛法無厭足故。生無熱天。供養眾僧無厭足故。身壞命終。生無熱天。" (T 2, p. 159a; CSA iii, p. 262; FSA 4, p. 2089). ASA: "佛告首天子言。汝行幾法。不生厭足。身壞命終。生無熱天。首天白佛。我行三法。心無厭足。故得生天。見佛聽法。供養眾僧。無厭足故。命終得生無熱天上。" (T 2, p. 442b). AN I (1989), p. 279: "*Bhagavato ahaṃ bhante dassanāya atitto appaṭivāno kālakato, saddhammasavanassāhaṃ bhante atitto appaṭivāno kālakato, saṅghassāhaṃ bhante upaṭṭhānassa atitto appaṭivāno kālakato*." Cf. F. L. Woodward (1932), pp. 256-258.

that he is from the heaven of Aviha. According to the developed Buddhist cosmology, these two heavens belong to one of the eight/seven heavens of a meditation realm of the fourth *dhyāna* and both of these are Pure Abodes (*Śuddhāvāsa*), so they are not the same heavens within the realm. [35] Also, how the practice of the three *dharma*s has a connection with the two different heavens in a meditation realm of the fourth *dhyāna* is not clearly indicated in the three versions.[36] Thus, the antiquity of the story and of the teachings of the three *dharma*s recorded in the three versions is in question. Here, it needs to be pointed out that the mythological aspect of *deva*s and the faith of the Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha have been clearly linked together into the heavens associated with the meditation practice of *dhyāna*.

(7) Eccentric expressions (SA 1280 = ASA 278; no SN counterpart)

SA 1280 reports that a *deva* (or a *devaputra*) comes to visit the Buddha and says to the Buddha in verse:[37]

> 誰屈下而屈下　誰高舉而隨舉
> 云何童子戲　如童塊相擲
> Who, being humble, becomes humble? Who, being arrogant, becomes arrogant? What is the game of children, like children throwing stones to each other?

The Buddha at that time replies in verse:

> 愛下則隨下　愛舉則隨舉
> 愛戲於愚夫　如童塊相擲
> Those who feel affection for the humble become humble.
> Those who feel affection for the arrogant become arrogant.
> Those who feel affection for playing a game as a stupid person are similar to those children throwing stones to each other.

[35] Sadakata (1997), p. 58; Gethin (1998), p. 116.

[36] A similar problem is found in the *Brahma Saṃyutta* (e.g., SN 6.4 = SA 1195 = ASA 108), where the Buddha seems to imply that Brahmā Baka attained his state through generosity and kindness rather than through *dhyāna*s. Does this suggest that the idea that the Brahma realms can only be attained by *dhyāna* is a later development? Or is something else going on here?

[37] T 2, pp. 352c-353a; 288-289; FSA 4, pp. 2137-2138.

However, its counterpart ASA 278 has a different report. It states that a *deva* (or a *devaputra*) comes to visit the Buddha and says in verse:[38]

誰名為敬順　誰名為陵邈
誰為瓔愚戲　如小兒弄土
Who is called reverence? Who is called humility?
Who plays a stupid game, like small children playing with soil?

The Buddha then responds in verse:

男子若敬順　女人必陵邈
男子若陵邈　女人必敬順
女人瓔愚戲　如小兒弄土
If men are reverent, women will certainly be humble.
If men are humble, women will certainly be reverent.
Women play a stupid game, like small children playing with soil.

Accordingly, both versions not only have almost entirely different contents of teaching, but also are equally eccentric in the questions by the *deva* and the responses by the Buddha. The conversations do not make any reasonable questions and judgments. These discourses have no *Saṃyutta-nikāya* counterpart. Thus, the antiquity of the story in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions is certainly in question. Also, the expression, '… Women play a stupid game, like small children playing with soil', implies gender discrimination. It is very striking that this uniquely sexist *sūtra* is both inauthentic and irrational.

(8) A *devaputra* possessed by Māra (SA 1308 = SN 2.30 = ASA 307)

SA 1308 records that a *devaputra* named Ākoṭaka is possessed by Māra, the Evil One, to speak in verse to the Buddha.[39] Its Pāli counterpart, SN 2.30, reports that

[38] T 2, p. 471a.
[39] "爾時天魔波旬著阿俱吒天子而說偈言。
精勤棄闇冥　常守護遠離
深著微妙色　貪樂於梵世
我教化斯等　令得生梵天
爾時。世尊作是念。若此阿俱吒天子所說偈。此是天魔波旬加其力故。非彼阿俱吒天子自心所說。" (T 2, p. 359c; CSA iii, p. 316; FSA 4, p. 2190)

Māra possesses the *devaputra* Veṭambari (not Ākoṭaka) to address the Buddha in verse.[40] This myth indicates that a *devaputra* can easily be possessed by Māra, who has such a power. However, the corresponding *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version (no. 307) does not have such a story of Māra possessing a *devaputra* to speak to the Buddha in verse.[41] Thus, the *Saṃyuktāgama* version in this regard is closer to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version.

Conclusion

Structurally, the Pāli *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyuttas* correspond to the *Zhutian Xiangying* (*Devatā Saṃyukta*) in the reconstructed two Chinese versions. It is likely that the division into two *saṃyutta*s seen in the Pāli *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version is original. The boundary between two separate collections in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions has been obscured following loss or lack of the *samyukta* titles. Both the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions are out of order with regard to the sequence and arrangement of the discourses. Also, the two Chinese versions match up with each other closely regarding the sequence and arrangement of the discourses, whereas the Pāli version of the discourses matches up only very loosely with the two Chinese versions. Thus, the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions are structurally much closer to each other than to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version.

As for the contents, this comparative study of these three different versions has focused on the terms *devatā* 'god' and *devaputra* 'son of a god' and on some disagreements presented in the three versions. The comparison has revealed the following main points:

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[40] *atha kho Māro pāpimā Veṭambariṃ devaputtaṃ anvāvisitvā Bhagavato santike imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi:*
tapo jigucchāya āyuttā
pālayaṃ pavivekiyaṃ
rūpe ca ye niviṭṭhāse
devalokābhinandino
te ve sammānusāsanti
paralokāya mātiyā ti.
Atha kho Bhagavā Māro ayaṃ pāpimā iti viditvā…". (SN I 1998, pp. 154-155; 1884, p. 67. Cf. Rhys Davids 1917, pp. 91-92; Bodhi 2000, pp. 162-163).

[41] T2, pp. 477c-478c.

1. Comparison with the Sanskrit fragments (Enomoto 1994) and the Pāli counterpart reveals that the Chinese translators of *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* did not distinguish between these two Sanskrit terms, *devatā* and *devaputra*. The *Saṃyuktāgama* translator preferred 天子, whereas the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* translator preferred 天.

2. The distinction between discourses on *devaputta* (mentioning the god's name) and *devatā* (*not* mentioning the god's name) was recognised in the Sthavira tradition before the Pāli and Sarvāstivādin branches separated, and thus it is not something unique to the Pāli tradition.

3. A verse on the notion of Brāhmaṇa appears at the end of nearly all discourses in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions. It is likely that the two Chinese traditions emphasise the notion of Brāhmaṇa more than their Pāli counterpart. The verse mentioned more often in the Chinese collections is a formulaic repetition of the texts; however, it does highlight the close connection between the early Buddhist tradition and the brahmanical tradition.

4. Only the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version indicates repeatedly that the *deva*s have actual 'heavenly palaces' (天宮) to reside in.

5. The expressions, 'all *dharma*s are empty' and 'all *dharma*s are as empty as a forest', in the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version, are not found in the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Saṃyutta-nikāya* versions. These are likely to be a sectarian doctrine. It may indicate that the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version does not belong to the same school as the *Saṃyuktāgama*, which is the Sarvāstivāda.

6. The *Saṃyuktāgama* and its counterpart *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions (SA 590 = ASA 184; no *Saṃyutta-nikāya* counterpart) describe different practices by a lay follower. The *Saṃyuktāgama* version states that he observes in seated meditation the twelve factors of causal condition in the negative and forward orders, whereas the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version records that he chants aloud the various texts while sitting cross-legged, and shows the faith in the use of the term, Three Jewels (三寶).

7. Only the *Saṃyuktāgama* version reports that the *devaputra* Anāthapiṇḍada is reborn into the Tuṣita heaven and depicts the Buddha regarding himself as superior in understanding to Śāriputra and other gods and humans.

8. All three versions record that the *devaputra* Hastaka practises the three *dharma*s (never having enough of seeing the Buddha, hearing the Dharma, and

serving the Saṅgha). But the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions say the *devaputra* is thus reborn in the heaven of Atappa, whereas the Pāli version states that he is from the heaven of Aviha (not Atappa).

9. Atappa and Aviha are distinct realms among the eight/seven heavens of the fourth *dhyāna*. The connection between the practice of the three *dharmas* and the two meditation heavens is not clearly presented in the three versions. However, they clearly indicate that the mythological aspect of *deva*s and faith in Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha have been associated with the heavens that are connected with the meditation practice of *dhyāna*.

10. Both *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions record differently some verses in which the questions by the *deva* and the responses by the Buddha are rather unusual. Their contents do not form any reasonable questions and judgments. These discourses have no *Saṃyutta-nikāya* counterpart. Thus, the antiquity of the story is in question. Also, it includes an expression of gender discrimination against women.

11. Only the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Saṃyutta-nikāya* versions record that a *devaputra* is possessed by Māra, the Evil One, to speak in verse to the Buddha.

Overall, the study has shown that, while the vast bulk of teachings is shared in common between the three versions, there are a few minor points of difference. Also, one might point out that, in so far as the variations between the *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* versions can be speculatively dated, in each case the *Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama* version seems to be later (inclusion of proto-Mahāyānist ideas, emphasis on devotion, divine palaces).

Appendix

Table 1: Chinese-Pāli correspondences of the *Zhutian Xiangying/Devatā Saṃyukta* (= SN 1. *Devatā Saṃyutta* and SN 2. *Devaputta Saṃyutta*)

SA (Chinese)	ASA (Chinese)	SN (Pāli)
995	132	1. *Devatā Saṃyutta* 10
996	133	1.9
997	134	1.47
998	135	1.42
999	136	2. *Devaputta Saṃyutta* 23
1000	137	1.53
1001	138	1.3
None	139	1.4
1002 (and 1312)	140 (and 311)	1.5
1003	141	1.6
1004	142	1.12
1005	231	1.54
1006	232	1.13
1007	233	1.14
1008	234-235	1.74, 70
1009	236	1.62
1010	237	1.64
1011	238	1.68
1012	239	None
1013	240	1.73
1014	241	1.59
1015	242	1.51
1016	243	1.56
1017	244	1.57
1018	245	1.55
1019	246	1.58
1020	247	1.61
1021	248	1.60
1022	249	1.72
576	161 (cf. EA 31.9)	1.11
577	162	None (cf. SN 10.*Yakkha Saṃyutta* 2)
578	163	1.18
579	164	1.7
580	165	1.8
581	166	1.25
582 (= 581)	166 (note: the same as above)	1.25 (the same as above)
583	167	2. 9
584	168	1.19

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SA (Chinese)	ASA (Chinese)	SN (Pāli)
585	169	2. 18
586	170	1. 21; 2. 16
587	171	1.46
588	172	1.29
589	183	1.28
590	184	None
591	185	None
592 (cf. MA 28: T1, 460a15)	186	None (cf. SN 10.*Yakkha Saṃyutta* 8)
593	187 (latter part) (cf. EA 51.8 (latter part))	2.20; 1.48 (verse) (cf. MN 143 (latter part) = MA 28)
594	188	None (cf. AN 3.125)
595	189	2.24; 1.50
None (cf. SA 957 in *Pocuozhong Xiangying* 婆蹉種相應)	190	None
596	181	2.17
597	182	2.14
598	175	1.16
599	173	1.23
600	174	1.17
601	176	1.27
602	177	1.30
603	None	None
1267	180	1.1
1268	179	1.2
1269 (and 1316)	178 (and 315)	2.15
1270	269	None
1271	270	None
1272	None	None
1273	271	1.40
1274	272	1.39
1275	273	1.22
1276	274	2.22
1277	275	1.35
1278	276 (cf. EA 21.5)	None (cf. SN 6. *Brahma Saṃyutta* 10; AN 10.89; Sn. 3.10 *Kokāliyā-sutta*)
1279	277	None
1280	278	None
1281	279	1.24
1282	280	None
1283	281 (cf. MA 135; DA 16)	None (cf. DN 31)
1284	282	None (cf. J. 243 *Guttila-jātaka*)
1285	283	None
1286	284	1.34, 36
1287	285	1.31
1288	286	1.32

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SA (Chinese)	ASA (Chinese)	SN (Pāli)
1289	287	1.38
1290	288	None
1291	289	None
1292	290	None
1293	292	None
1294	291	None
1295	293	None (cf. Sn. 654)
1296	294	None
1297	295	None
1298	296	None
1299	297	None
1300	298	None (cf. SN 10.*Yakkha Saṃyutta* 1)
None	299	None (cf. SN 10.*Yakkha Saṃyutta* 2)
1301	300	None
1302	301	2.21
1303	302	2.11
1304	303	2.12
1305	304	2.7
1306	305	2.29
1307	306 (cf. EA 43.1)	2.26 (cf. AN 4.45)
1308	307	2.30
1309	308	2.3
1310	309	2.4; 1.26
1311	310	2.5
1312 (and 1002)	311 (and 140)	1.5
1313	312	2.6
1314	313	None (cf. SN 10. *Yakkha Saṃyutta* 3; Sn. 2.5 *Sūciloma-sutta*)
1315	314	1.75
1316 (1269)	315 (and 178)	2.15
1317	316	2.1-2
1318	317	2.1-2 (note: the same as above)

Table 2: Pāli-Chinese correspondences of the *Devatā* and *Devaputta Saṃyutta*s (= *Zhutian Xiangying*)

SN (Pāli)	SA (Chinese)	ASA (Chinese)
1. *Devatā Saṃyutta* 1	1267	180
1.2	1268	179
1.3	1001	138
1.4	None	139
1.5	1002, 1312	140, 311
1.6	1003	141
1.7	579	164
1.8	580	165
1.9	996	133
1.10	995	132
1.11	576	161 (cf. EA 31.9)
1.12	1004	142
1.13	1006	232
1.14	1007	233
1.15	1335 (in *Lin Xiangying* 林相應)	355
1.16	598	175
1.17	600	174
1.18	578	163
1.19	584	168
1.20	1078 (in *Biqiu Xiangying* 比丘相應)	17
1.21 (and SN 2.16)	586	170
1.22	1275	273
1.23	599	173
1.24	1281	279
1.25	581-582	166
1.26 (and SN 2.4)	1310	309
1.27	601	176
1.28	589	183
1.29	588	172
1.30	602	177
1.31	1287	285
1.32	1288	286
1.33	None	None
1.34	1286	284
1.35	1277	275
1.36	1286	284
1.37	1192 (in *Fantian Xiangying* 梵天相應)	105
1.38	1289	287
1.39	1274	272
1.40	1273	271

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SN (Pāli)	SA (Chinese)	ASA (Chinese)
1.41	None	None
1.42	998	135
1.43	999	136
1.44	None	None
1.45	None	None
1.46	587	171
1.47	997	134
1.48 (and SN 2.20)	593	187
1.49	None	None
1.50 (and SN 2.24)	595	189
1.51	1015	242
1.52	None	None
1.53	1000	137
1.54	1005	231
1.55	1018	245
1.56	1016	243
1.57	1017	244
1.58	1019	246
1.59	1014	241
1.60	1021	248
1.61	1020	247
1.62	1009	236
1.63	None	None
1.64	1010	237
1.65	None	None
1.66	None	None
1.67	None	None
1.68	1011	238
1.69	None	None
1.70 (and 1.74)	1008	234-235
1.71	1285	283
1.72	1022	249
1.73	1013	240
1.74 (and 1.70)	1008	234-235
1.75	1315	314
1.76	None	None
1.77	None	None
1.78	None	None
1.79	None	None
2. *Devaputta Saṃyutta* 1	1317	316
2.2	1318	317
2.3	1309	308
2.4 (and SN 1.26)	1310	309
2.5	1311	310
2.6	1313	312

Continued on next page

SN (Pāli)	SA (Chinese)	ASA (Chinese)
2.7	1305	304
2.9	583	167
2.10	None	None
2.11	1303	302
2.12	1304	303
2.13	None	None
2.14	597	182
2.15	1269, 1316	178, 315
2.16 (and SN 1.21)	586	170
2.17	596	181
2.18	585	169
2.19	1001	138
2.20 (and SN 1.48)	593	187
2.21	1302	301
2.22	1276	274
2.23	999	136
2.24 (and SN 1.50)	595	189
2.25	1343 (in *Lin Xiangying* 林相應)	363
2.26 (cf. AN 4.45)	1307	306 (cf. EA 43.1)
2.27	None	None
2.28	588	172
2.29	1306	305
2.30	1308	307

Abbreviations

AN	*Aṅguttara-nikāya*
ASA	*Bieyi Za Ahan Jing [Additional Translation of Saṃyuktāgama]* (T 2, no. 100)
CSA	Yin Shun's *Za Ahan Jing Lun Huibian [Combined Edition of Sūtra and Śāstra of the Saṃyuktāgama]* (3 vols, 1983)
DA	*Dīrghāgama* (T 1, no. 1)
DN	*Dīgha-nikāya*
EA	*Ekottarikāgama* (T 2, no. 125)
FSA	Foguang *Tripiṭaka Za Ahan Jing (Saṃyuktāgama)* (4 vols, 1983)
J	*Jātaka*
MA	*Madhyamāgama* (T 1, no. 26)
MN	*Majjhima-nikāya*
PTS	Pali Text Society
SA	*Saṃyuktāgama* (T 2, no. 99)
SN	*Saṃyutta-nikāya*
Sn	*Suttanipāta*
T	Taishō Chinese *Tripiṭaka* (The standard edition for most scholarly purposes)

AN, DN, J., MN, SN and Sn. references are to PTS editions.

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Some Remarks on Buddhaghosa's use of Sanskrit Grammar: Possible Hints of an Unknown Pāṇinian Commentary in Buddhaghosa's Grammatical Arguments

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This article explores hints of an unknown Pāṇinan grammatical commentary in the writings of Buddhaghosa. In addition, it speculates on the religious affiliations of the grammatical lineages that meditated Buddhaghosa's use of Sanskrit grammar and, in doing so, questions the common assumption that Buddhaghosa's knowledge of Sanskrit and Sanskrit grammar originated within a Brahmanical literary culture.

"You know my method. It is founded upon the observation of trifles."
Sherlock Holmes, *The Boscombe Valley Mystery*[1]

The association of Buddhist schools in pre-modern South Asia with particular literary languages, such as Sanskrit or Pāli, has influenced understanding of their participation within the wider literary milieu of South Asia. Theravāda Buddhism, for instance, uses Pāli for its primary religious literature and as a result is often depicted as culturally isolated, resisting influences from Brahmanical or Mahāyānist Sanskrit.

The cultural significance of the use of Sanskrit by Theravāda monastic literati is generally explained as the result of a passive borrowing from Mahāyāna or Brahmanical groups. For instance, with respect to Buddhaghosa's use of Sanskrit, Norman states that "the author shows acquaintance with Sanskrit and Sanskrit grammarians, which would be in keeping with the traditional view that Buddhaghosa

[1] Conan Doyle 2003: 253.

JOCBS. 2011 (1): 89–107.

was a Brahman before he became a Buddhist...".[2] It is rarely acknowledged that Theravāda literati may have had their own long-standing culture of Sanskrit learning and have actively engaged in the Sanskrit literary cultures of their Brahmanical and Mahāyānist contemporaries. Therefore, the assumption that linguistic usage in pre-modern South Asia was coterminous with religious identity – in this case the assumption that Sanskrit is synonymous with Brahmanism – has perhaps led to a neglect of Theravāda Buddhism as a key agent in the cross-fertilisation of a variety of languages and literary cultures in South Asia. In addition, this sense of linguistic, and therefore cultural, isolation may have contributed to the neglect of Pāli literature as a means of understanding intellectual developments in South Asian history, in particular those written in Sanskrit.

This paper begins an exploration of the Theravāda Buddhist interaction with other South Asian literary cultures. In doing so, I tread a well-worn path by investigating certain documented aspects of Buddhaghosa's use of Sanskrit grammatical literature. I provide a new analysis of its significance by situating his use of Sanskrit grammar within a wider South Asian grammatical culture and by taking into account the possible ideological affiliations of the Sanskrit grammars he used.

Buddhaghosa's Use of Sanskrit Grammar

Buddhaghosa's use of Sanskrit grammar in his commentarial literature comes at an important juncture in Theravāda Buddhist literary history. According to tradition, Buddhaghosa (c. 5th century) revived the Pāli commentarial tradition and reproduced Pāli versions of the Sinhala commentaries extant in his time. Buddhaghosa's literary activities represented an unprecedented flourish of post-canonical Pāli literature and his style of writing set the standard for commentators writing in his wake. This activity in Pāli composition and exegesis must have required an extensive array of linguistic tools such as grammars and lexicons. These tools lent grammatical authority to Buddhaghosa's writing and his interpretation of Buddhist doctrine. This is exemplified in Buddhaghosa's definition of the term *paṭiccasamuppāda* ("dependent origination") in the *Visuddhimagga* (*Path of Purification*), his meditation manual, where he refers to the authority of grammar in order to refute an interpretation contrary to his own.[3] Ascertaining the gram-

[2] Norman 1983: 129.
[3] Vism 1975: 518-520.

mars Buddhaghosa was using to write and interpret Pāli is therefore an important task for understanding this pivotal stage in the development of Pāli literature and the interpretation of Theravāda Buddhist doctrine.

In 1902, Franke proposed that Buddhaghosa's grammatical analyses relied upon an early Pāli grammatical tradition.[4] He based his assumption on a quote in the *Rūpasiddhi* (*The Construction of [Grammatical] Forms*, c.11th century), a grammatical handbook to the first Pāli grammar, the *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa* (*The Grammar of Kaccāyana*, c. 7th century), which lists some of the grammatical terms used by Buddhaghosa.[5] However, Pind has proposed that this quote does not originate from a pre-Buddhaghosa Pāli grammar and that it is only a summary of the terminology found in the commentaries to the Pāli canon.[6] He also shows that the *Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā*, a commentary to the *Rūpasiddhi*, identifies the source of the quote as the *Mahānirutti* (*The Great Analysis*), an old commentary on the *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa*. Pind concludes that "there is therefore no reason to believe that the few grammatical terms that have no parallel in Sanskrit grammatical terminology reflect an old system of Pāli grammar. They probably represent part of a terminology that originated with the attempt to establish a canonical exegesis."[7]

Alongside this grammatical terminology peculiar to the commentaries, it has also long been recognised that Buddhaghosa sometimes relied upon Sanskrit grammar when writing his commentaries to the Pāli canon. In particular, Buddhaghosa appears to have relied exclusively on the tradition of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*The Eight Lessons*) of Pāṇini, the earliest and most authoritative grammar of Sanskrit (5th c. BCE). B.C. Law was one of the first to notice the influence of Pāṇini on Buddhaghosa. For instance, he pointed out the similarities between Buddhaghosa's gloss on *indriya* ("sense organ") in the *Visuddhimagga*[8] with the grammatical rule A.5.2.93 *indriyam indraliṅgam indradṛṣṭam indrasṛṣṭam indrajuṣṭam indradattam iti vā*.[9] More recently, Ole Pind has conducted exhaustive studies on Buddhaghosa's use of Sanskrit grammar and has demonstrated that Buddha-

[4] Pind 1989: 34.

[5] Franke 1902: 4.

[6] Pind 1989: 35.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *Ko pana nesaṃ indriyattho nāmā ti? Indaliṅgaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho; indadesitaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho; indadiṭṭhaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho; indasiṭṭhaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho; indajuṭṭhattho indriyaṭṭho: so sabbo pi idha yathāyogaṃ yujjati.* Vism 1975: 491.

[9] Law 1946: 32-33.

ghosa refers to Pāṇinian grammar, i.e. the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and its commentaries, when quoting the opinions of "grammar" (*saddasattha*) or "grammarians", viz. *saddalakkhaṇavidū* ("a knower of the rules of words"), *saddavidū* ("a knower of words") and *akkharacintaka* ("a syllable ponderer").[10]

However, some important implications of Pind's work for the understanding of the history of grammatical traditions in wider South Asia have not been taken into account. For instance, from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (*The Great Commentary*, 2nd c. BCE), a commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, up until Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* (*Of Sentences and Words*, 5th-6th c. CE), a grammatical and philosophical work in the Pāṇinian tradition, relatively little is known about the development of the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition in South Asia. Buddhaghosa's use of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the 5th century therefore potentially provides clues to the development of the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition prior to Bhartṛhari. In this regard, I focus on certain grammatical discussions that may reveal which commentarial tradition mediated Buddhaghosa's use of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I speculate that Buddhaghosa's discussions hint at the existence of an unknown commentary to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* that may have been related, directly or indirectly, to the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* (*The Commentary from Kāśī*), a 7th century gloss on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, and the *Cāndra-vṛtti* (*The Commentary on Cāndra*, 5th-6th c. CE?), a gloss on the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* (*The Grammar of Candra*), a grammar written by the Buddhist Candragomin (5th c. CE). In addition, the ideological affiliations of Buddhaghosa's grammatical source materials have not been taken into consideration. By speculating on the grammatical cultures Buddhaghosa was interacting with, it is possible to test the common assumption that Buddhaghosa's use of Sanskrit grammar, and often by implication the use of Sanskrit by Theravāda Buddhists at large, was linked to interactions with Brahmanism.

The Four Grammatical Discussions

In this paper, I focus on four grammatical discussions in Buddhaghosa's commentaries, the significance of which has yet to be recognised in the context of the history of South Asian grammar. All four discussions are taken from Pind's analysis of Buddhaghosa's use of Sanskrit grammar.[11] Due to the uncertainty about the authorship of some works attributed to Buddhaghosa, Pind only anal-

[10] Pind 1989: 37.

[11] Pind 1989, 1990.

ysed "the works for which the authorship is beyond doubt: *Visuddhimagga* [*Vism*], *Samantapāsādikā* [*Sp*], and the commentaries on the *āgamas: Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* [*Sv*], *Papañcasūdanī* [*Ps*], *Sāratthappakāsinī* [*Spk*], and *Manorathapūraṇī* [*Mp*]."[12] The four discussions in question are (1) Vism 210, 21-28, (2) Sp 209, 27-210, 1 *ad* Vin III 16, 5, (3) Sv 43, 13-15 *ad* D 12, 9, and (4) Sp 108, 21-22 *ad* Vin III 1, 6.

1. A Verse of *Nirukta* (Vism 210, 21-28)

The first example is found in a passage of the *Visuddhimagga* in which Buddhaghosa provides a semantic analysis of the term *bhagavā*. After turning to the *Niddesa* (*The Descriptive Exposition*) to provide an initial analysis of the word, Buddhaghosa offers an alternative analysis in the following verse:

> *bhāgyavā bhaggavā yutto bhagehi ca vibhattavā*
> *bhattavā vantagamano bhavesu* ***bhagavā*** *tato ti.*[13]

> He has fortune and has broken (free), he is associated with blessings, he has analysed and is worshipped, and he has renounced journeying among lives. Therefore, he is ***bhagavā***.[14]

Buddhaghosa then provides a description of the various methods employed in his analysis of the term *bhagavā*. Pind translates this discussion as follows:

> *tattha vaṇṇāgamo vaṇṇavipariyāyo ti ādikaṃ niruttilakkhaṇaṃ gahetvā, saddanayena vā pisodarādipakkhepalakkhaṇaṃ gahetvā, yasmā lokiyalokuttarasukhābhinibbattakaṃ dānasīlādipārappattaṃ bhāgyam assa atthi, tasmā bhāgyavā ti vattabbe* ***bhagavā*** *ti vuccatī ti ñātabbaṃ.*[15]

> "In this case it should be known – either by adopting the rule of etymology (*niruttilakkhaṇaṃ*) which runs: 'letter insertion, letter metathesis', etc. or by adopting, according to the method of grammar (*saddanayena*), the rule that consists in interpolating [the word in question] in [the word class] beginning with *pisodara* – that since he is blessed with having been perfected with regard to charity and

[12] Pind 1989: 38.
[13] Vism 1975: 210.
[14] Translations are my own unless otherwise specified.
[15] Vism 1975: 210.

> morality, etc., which gives rise to mundane and transmundane happiness, he is called *bhagavan*, although [in actuality] he ought to be called *bhāgyavan*."[16]

In the above passage, Buddhaghosa states that he uses two main methods in analysing the term *bhagavā*, the method of semantic analysis (*nirutti*) and the method of grammatical analysis (*saddanaya*). In specifying his methods of semantic analysis, Buddhaghosa refers above to a verse that begins "letter insertion, letter metathesis..." Pind traces this quotation to a verse in the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, a 7th century gloss on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, in its commentary on the grammatical rule A.6.3.109 *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*:

> *varṇāgamo varṇaviparyayaś ca dvau cāparau varṇavikāranāśau, dhātos tadarthātiśayena yogas tad ucyate pañcavidhaṃ niruktam.*[17]
>
> Letter insertion, letter metathesis, the next two viz. letter modification and letter elision, and the connection of a root through the extension of its meaning – this is called the five-fold semantic analysis.

The similarities between this verse and the one quoted by Buddhaghosa indicate that Buddhaghosa was likely referring to these five methods of *nirukta* (semantic analysis) in his discussion. The rule A.6.3.109 states that the class of compounds beginning with *pṛṣodara* ("having a spotted belly") is introduced as taught by learned speakers (*yathopadiṣṭam*).[18] This rule accounts for a class of compounds which are formed with a number of irregularities, viz. the elision, insertion or modification of particular letters. Their formation cannot be explained through grammatical rules and, therefore, Pāṇini refers to "learned speakers" as an authority. The key point is that, since these irregular words cannot be explained through grammatical rules, their formation is to be understood by the ways in which learned speakers form them, i.e. through the elision, insertion or modification of particular letters.

In describing his method of grammatical analysis, Buddhaghosa also refers to this rule in the statement *pisodarādipakkhepalakkhaṇaṃ* (the rule that consists in

[16] Pind 1989: 41.
[17] KVṛ 1967: 301.
[18] Katre 1987: 793.

interpolating [the word in question] in [the word class] beginning with *pisodara*). Here, Buddhaghosa implies that the word *bhagavā* is to be included in the list of words beginning with *pisodara* (S. *pṛṣodara*) and, therefore, according to A. 6.3.109 *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*, its form can be explained by means of elision, insertion and modification. It is clear that the methods of analysis prescribed by the discipline of *nirukta* (semantic analysis) and grammar, viz. A.6.3.109, do not differ significantly, and by quoting a definition of *nirukta* under A.6.3.109 the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* suggests that A.6.3.109 establishes the correctness of words using the techniques of semantic analysis (*nirukta*).

Significant for the history of grammatical thought, however, is the fact that Buddhaghosa could not have utilised the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, since it was written in the 7th century. In addition, the fact that Buddhaghosa juxtaposes this verse on semantic analysis to a reference to A.6.3.109 may indicate that Buddhaghosa was aware of a grammatical commentary that linked this *nirukta* verse and grammatical rule in a similar way to the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*. In this regard, Pind states that "Buddhaghosa and the authors of the *Kāśikā* were conversant with a grammatical tradition where the verse was somehow attached to this specific Pāṇini *sūtra* as part of its commentary. Patañjali does not quote the verse ad loc., but this, of course, does not exclude the possibility that it belongs to a grammatical tradition antedating Patañjali."[19]

While Pind's analysis of this passage is highly praiseworthy, he does not fully recognise the significance of this finding for the history of grammatical thought in South Asia. For instance, this verse is in fact found in a grammatical commentary earlier than the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, the *vṛtti* (gloss) to the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*. The *Cāndra-vṛtti* is a gloss on the rules of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*, a system of grammar written by the Buddhist Candragomin most probably in the 5th century. It is now widely accepted that the Cāndra-vṛtti was written later than the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa by a monk known as Dharmadāsa. While later than the 5th century, and therefore too late to be a direct source for Buddhaghosa, the *Cāndra-vṛtti* is generally considered to be earlier than the Kāśikā-vṛtti. Dharmadāsa quotes an almost identical verse on *nirukta* to the one found in the Kāśikā-vṛtti under C. 5.2.127 pṛṣodarādīni, the equivalent rule to A.6.3.109 in the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*:

> *varṇāgamo varṇaviparyayaś ca dvau cāparau varṇavikāranāśau, dhātos tadarthātiśayena yoga etac ca tatpañcavidhaṃ niruktam.*[20]

[19] Pind 1989: 43-44.

[20] CV 1961: 188.

> Letter insertion, letter metathesis, the next two viz. letter modification and letter elision, and the connection of roots through the extension of their meaning – this is their five-fold semantic analysis.

The fact that the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* and *Cāndra-vṛtti* quote almost identical verses on equivalent grammatical rules indicates a close relationship between the texts. In addition, since Buddhaghosa also associates this verse with A.6.3.109, further evidence, important for the history of South Asian grammatical culture, on the relationship between the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti* can be gleaned. For instance, it is well established that both of these commentaries are clearly related in some way and often are identical. However, there has been much debate on the relationship between the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, in particular with reference to the directionality of influence between the two texts.[21] Bronkhorst outlines three scenarios that would explain the close relationship between the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti*: "a) the former borrowed from the latter; b) the latter borrowed from the former; c) both borrowed, directly or indirectly, from a common source."[22] Since it is now widely accepted that the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* is later than the *Cāndra-vṛtti*, the first possibility can be discarded without controversy. In his article, Bronkhorst makes a strong case for the existence of an unknown Pāṇinian commentary that influenced both the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti*. Bronkhorst also shows that the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* itself recognises the existence of former commentaries, which the *Nyāsa*, a commentary on the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, links to unknown authors such as Cūlli, Bhaṭṭi, Nalūra etc.[23] Since Buddhaghosa's use of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is slightly earlier than both the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, his possible knowledge of a grammatical commentary that linked this *nirukta* verse to A.6.3.109 would certainly add grist to Bronkhorst's mill by indicating that there was an earlier Pāṇinian commentary that exhibited similar features to the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti*. In the following three examples I investigate further hints that Buddhaghosa was familiar with a Pāṇinian commentary that was directly or indirectly linked to the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti*.

[21] For an overview of this debate see Vergiani 2006.

[22] Bronkhorst 2002: 185.

[23] Bronkhorst 2002: 186.

2. Last Night's Barley-Gruel (Sp 209, 27-210, 1 *ad* Vin III 16, 5)

Another example that exhibits similarities between Buddhaghosa's grammatical analysis and the *Cāndra-vṛtti* is in the *Samantapāsādikā* (*Lovely Throughout*), Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *vinaya*, when he discusses the sentence *atthi nāma tāta Sudinna ābhidosikaṃ kummāsaṃ paribuñjissasī ti* ("Is it possible, dear Sudinna, that you are eating last night's barley-gruel?"). Pind translates the passage as follows:

> *akkharacintakā pan' ettha imaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ vadanti: anokappanāmarisanatthavasena etaṃ atthi-nāma-sadde upapade paribhuñjissasī ti anāgatavacanaṃ kataṃ. tassāyaṃ attho: atthi nāma – pe – paribhuñjissasī ti idaṃ paccakkhaṃ pi ahaṃ* ***na saddahāmi, na marisayāmī*** (so read for *parisayāmī*)[24] *ti.*[25]
>
> "In this case, moreover, the grammarians (*akkharacintakā*), set forth the following rule (*lakkhaṇaṃ*): according to whether the meaning is that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated (*anokappanāmarisanatthavasena*), the future *paribhuñjissasi* is employed, when the expression 'is it possible?' is a sentence complement (*atthi-nāma-sadde upapade*). The meaning of the [sentence] 'Is it possible…?' is as follows: 'I do not believe it, even though it is evident, nor do I tolerate it.'"[26]

In this discussion Buddhaghosa explains the function of the expression *atthi nāma* at the beginning of the sentence in question and explains that it is used as a complement to a finite verb in the future tense to denote a sense of disbelief and censorship. Pind links the grammatical rule Buddhaghosa is referring to with A. 3.3.146 *kiṃkilāstyartheṣu lṛṭ*.[27] This rule states that the future (*lṛṭ*) is used when co-occurring with [the words] "How comes it?" (*kiṃkila*) or [the words] meaning "Is it the case that?" (*asti*) to denote improbability or intolerance.[28]

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[24]In opposition to the PTS edition, the reading *na marisayāmī* (Sp) should be read here since *parisayāmi* ("I surround") does not make sense in this context and since *marisayāmi* is the reading found in Sāriputta's *ṭīkā*. Pind (1989:57) also makes this amendment.

[25]Sp 1975: 209-210.

[26]Pind 1989: 57.

[27]Pind 1989: 58.

[28]Katre 1987: 313.

However, Pind does not speculate any further on the commentarial lineage that mediates Buddhaghosa's use of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In this regard, it is significant that the examples Buddhaghosa uses at the end of his discussion, viz. *na saddahāmi, na marisayāmi*, to illustrate the sense of this expression are found in both the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on A.3.3.146 and the *Cāndra-vṛtti* on C.1.3.112 *kiṃkilāstyarthayor lṛṭ*, the equivalent *sūtra* in the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*. Buddhaghosa's discussion, though, has the closest similarity to the *Cāndra-vṛtti*:

> *kiṃkilaśabde 'styartheṣu ca satsu krodhāśraddhayor arthayor lṛḍ eva bhavati, na liṅ. kiṃkila tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati?* ***na marṣayāmi, na śraddadhe****, nāvakalpayāmi…*[29]
>
> When there is the term *kiṃkila* or *asti*, only the future (*lṛṭ*) conveys the meaning of anger or disbelief, not the optative (*liṅ*). [For example:] How, Sir, can you let an outcaste sacrifice! [This means] "I don't tolerate it!", "I don't believe it!", "I don't trust it!".

The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (1st c. BCE), the earliest commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* before the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, does not comment on this rule *ad loc.*, so Buddhaghosa was most likely working with an unknown commentary that used the same grammatical examples for A.3.3.146 as the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti*. Pind has shown exhaustively that Buddhaghosa is using the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for his grammatical analysis and therefore it would seem that there existed an earlier Pāṇinian commentary that shared certain aspects with the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti*. The possibility that the *Cāndra-vṛtti* was influenced by an earlier Pāṇinian commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* would cast further doubt on the opinion of Oberlies, who suggests that the common source of the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti* is a lost commentary by Devanandin on the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa* (*The Grammar of Jinendra*), a non-Pāṇinian grammar written around the 6th century.[30]

3. A Blind Man Mountain Climbing (Sv 43, 13-15 *ad* D I 2, 9)

The third example that hints at Buddhaghosa's use of an unknown Pāṇinian commentary is found in a discussion in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*Auspicious Clarification*), his commentary to the *Dīgha Nikāya*. His discussion centres on an analysis

[29] CV 1953: 117.
[30] Oberlies 1996: 285-286.

of the expression *acchariyaṃ āvuso* ("How wonderful, friend!") in which he outlines the sense of the term *acchariyaṃ* ("How wonderful!"). Pind translates his discussion as follows:

> *tattha andhassa pabbatārohanaṃ viya niccaṃ na hotī ti acchariyaṃ. ayaṃ tāva saddanayo.*[31]
>
> "In this case *acchariyaṃ* means something unusual (*na...niccaṃ*), like for instance a blind man who goes mountain climbing. This, in the first place, is the grammatical derivation."[32]

Pind correctly links this discussion to A.6.1.147 *āścaryam anitye*, which states that the word *āścaryam* is introduced with the initial increment *suṬ (s)* inserted before the phoneme *c* to denote something unusual (*anitye*).[33] As an example of using *acchariyam* in the sense of something unusual, Buddhaghosa refers to a blind man mountain climbing. This example is not found in either the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* on A.6.1.147 or the *Cāndra-vṛtti* on C.5.1.142 *pāraskarādīni nāmni*, the corresponding rule to A.6.1.147 in the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*. Again, this example is not used by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya ad loc.*, and therefore Buddhaghosa was most likely borrowing from examples in a later Pāṇinian commentary. However, in both the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* and the *Cāndra-vṛtti*, a similar example, *āścaryaṃ citram adbhutam andho nāma parvatam ārokṣyati* ("It is wonderful, strange and astonishing that a blind man climbs a mountain!") is quoted under A.3.3.151 *śeṣe lṛḍ ayadau* and C.1.3.116 *śeṣe lṛṭ* respectively. These grammatical rules state that the future tense (*lṛṭ*) is used, when co-occurring with an item other than *yacca*, *yatra* or *yadi*, to express wonder (*citrīkaraṇa*).[34] In this connection it is significant that, unlike the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* does not use the term *citrīkaraṇa* to denote wonder but *āścarya* instead. Again, Patañjali does not refer to the example of a blind man mountain climbing in his comments on A.3.3.151 either. It is possible, therefore, that the example of a blind man mountain climbing became a standard representation of *āścarya* (astonishment) after Patañjali in the grammatical literature that Buddhaghosa and the authors of the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti* were familiar with.

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[31] Sv 1886: 43.
[32] Pind 1989: 67.
[33] Katre 1987: 693.
[34] Katre 1987: 314.

4. A Cowherd Near the Ganges (Sp 108-109, 21-22 *ad* Vin III 1, 6)

The final example considered here as evidence of Buddhaghosa's use of a grammatical source that is no longer accessible occurs in a passage in the *Samantapāsādikā* discussing the word *Verañjāyaṃ* ("near Verañjā") in the sentence:

> *tena samayena buddho bhagavā Verañjāyaṃ viharati Naḷerupuci mandamūle mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhusatehi.*[35]

> At that time the blessed Buddha was dwelling near Verañjā at the foot of the Naḷeru *nimba* tree[36] with a great *saṅgha* of five hundred monks.

In his discussion of this passage, Buddhaghosa analyses *Verañjāyaṃ* as *samīpatthe bhummavacanaṃ*, a locative (*bhummavacanaṃ*) in the sense of proximity (*samīpatthe*). Buddhaghosa continues to discuss the two locatives, viz. *Verañjāyaṃ* and *Naḷerupucimandamūle*, in the following way:

> *tattha siyā yadi tāva bhagavā Verañjāyaṃ viharati, "Naḷerupuci mandamūle"ti na vattabbaṃ, atha tattha viharati "Verañjāyaṃ" ti na vattabbaṃ, na hi sakkā ubhayattha ten' eva samayena apubbaṃ acarimaṃ viharitun ti; na kho pan' etaṃ evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ. nanu avocumha "samīpatthe bhummavacanaṃ" ti, tasmā yathā Gaṅgāyamunādīnaṃ samīpe goyūthāni carantāni "Gaṅgāya caranti, Yamunāya carantī"ti vuccanti evam idhāpi yadidaṃ Verañjāya samīpe Naḷerupucimandamūlaṃ tattha viharanto vuccati "Verañjāyaṃ viharati Naḷerupucimandamūle" ti.*[37]

> In this connection, if the Blessed One was dwelling just in Verañjā, one should not say "at the foot of the Naḷeru *nimba* tree". Then [if he] was dwelling there (i.e. at the foot of the Naḷeru *nimba* tree),

[35] Vin 1881: 1.

[36] According to Malalasekera, Naḷerupucimanda was "a grove near Verañjā where the Buddha spent part of his time on his visit to Nerañjā [*sic*]. Buddhaghosa explains that the chief tree to be found there was a *pucimanda* or *nimba*-tree at the foot of which was a shrine dedicated to a *yakkha* named Naḷeru." Malalasekera 1960: 38.

[37] Sp 1975: 109.

> one should not say "in Verañjā", since it is not possible to dwell in both places at that same time simultaneously (*apubbaṃ acarimaṃ*). However, one should not understand it in this way (*evaṃ*) as I have stated that "the locative is in the sense of proximity". Therefore, since one states that herds of cows, wandering *in the vicinity* of the [rivers] Ganges and Yamuna, wander *at* the Ganges (*gaṅgāya*) and Yamuna (*yamunāya*), so here also one says "dwelling there at the foot of the Naḷeru *nimba* tree in the proximity of Verañjā (*verañjāyaṃ*)".

As Pind points out for this example, there is no justification for the use of a locative in the sense of proximity in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. However, Pind traces the use of the term *sāmīpya* ("proximity") to an analogous discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya* (MBh II 218, 14-19) on A.4.1.48 *puṃyogād ākhyāyām*,[38] in which Patañjali makes the statement *tatsāmīpyāt: gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ* ("Since there is proximity with that, [as in the example] 'The cowherd colony is near the Ganges'").[39] However, elsewhere in the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali provides a three-fold definition of the locative (*adhikaraṇa*) when explaining the locative case of *saṃhitāyām* ("in the domain of continuous utterance") in the grammatical rule A. 6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*.[40] He states that *adhikaraṇaṃ nāma triprakāraṃ vyāpakam aupaśleṣikaṃ vaiṣayikam iti* ("the locative is of three types, namely *vyāpaka* 'pervasive', *aupaśleṣika* 'having close contact' and *vaiṣayika* 'relating to a particular sphere or domain'").[41] Therefore, it is possible that for Patañjali *sāmīpya* ("proximity") was not a fully fledged category of locative, but rather a sub-category of *aupaśleṣika* ("having close contact") or *vaiṣayika* ("relating to a particular sphere or domain"), since he also provides the example *gaṅgāyāṃ gāvaḥ* ("the cows are near the Ganges") as a counter-example to *vyāpaka* ("pervasion") in a discussion on A. 1.4.42. *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*[42].[43] It is possible then that Buddhaghosa utilised these strands of discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya* to analyse the term *Verañjāyaṃ* in the *vinaya* as a locative expressing proximity.

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[38] Katre 1987: 367.

[39] MBh 1965: 218. "[The affix … ṄĪṢ … is introduced after … a nominal stem … (denoting a masculine name) to designate a female by virtue of her relationship with the male (represented by that masculine name) as a wife (*puṃyogāt*)."

[40] Katre 1987: 674.

[41] MBh 1991: 74.

[42] Katre 1987: 87. "…*karaṇa* …denotes the means *par excellence* (*sādhaka-tamam*) (in relation to the verbal stem)."

[43] MBh 1962: 332.

However, the first evidence of "*sāmīpya*" (proximity) as a distinct category of locative is found in the *Cāndra-vṛtti*. When commenting on the rule C.2.1.88 *saptamy ādhāre* (the seventh case occurs in the sense of locus), the *Cāndra-vṛtti* provides examples to illustrate the functions of the locative:

> *ādhāre saptamī vibhaktir bhavati.* (1) *kaṭa āste* (2) *ākāśe śakunayaḥ* (3) *tileṣu tailam* (4) *gaṅgāyāṃ gāvaḥ* (5) *adhītī vyākaraṇa ity ādhāra eva saptamī.*[44]
>
> The seventh case occurs in the sense of locus. [For the examples] "he sits on the mat", "the birds are in the sky", "the oil is in the seeds", "the cows are near the river". "he is proficient in grammar", the seventh case is only in the sense of locus.

That the example *gaṅgāyāṃ gāvaḥ* ("The cows are near the Ganges") here is used to represent proximity is revealed by the Pāli grammatical tradition. For instance, the *Moggallāna-vutti*, a commentary on the 12th century Pāli grammar, the *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa*, uses the *Cāndra-vṛtti* as a basis for its own discussions on the locative case. It adopts the first four examples, including an equivalent for *gaṅgāyaṃ gāvaḥ*, from the *Cāndra-vṛtti*. Its own commentary, the *Moggallāna-pañcikā* analyses these four examples as representing (1) *opasilesika* (S. *aupaśleṣika*, "having close contact"), (2) *vesayika* (S. *vaiṣayika*, "relating to a particular sphere or domain"), (3) *vyāpaka* ("pervasive") and (4) *sāmīpika* ("having proximity").[45]

I have shown elsewhere[46] that it is likely that the Moggallāna tradition of Pāli grammar used commentaries to the *Cāndra* tradition of Sanskrit grammar, so that its analysis of these examples is probably taken from the *Cāndra* tradition itself. Therefore, according to the *Moggallāna* tradition of Pāli grammar, the example *gaṅgāyaṃ gāvaḥ* in the *Cāndra-vṛtti* represents a locative in the sense of proximity. It is possible then that Buddhaghosa, instead of relying on the *Mahābhāṣya*, also adopted this classification of the locative, along with its example of "cows near the Ganges", from a later Pāṇinian commentarial tradition that shared this feature with the *Cāndra-vṛtti*.

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[44] CV 1953: 181.

[45] MP 1931: 72. *ādhāro cāyaṃ catubbidhā opasilesika-vesayikā-bhivyāpaka-sāmīpika-bhedato ti yathākammaṃ ūdāharati kaṭe iccādi.* "And this locus is four-fold, through the division into close contact, belonging to a particular domain, pervasion and proximity. He explains the examples respectively."

[46] Gornall, forthcoming.

5. Ideology of Grammar

These hints at the commentarial lineage that mediated Buddhaghosa's use of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* bring into question the ideological connections of his use of Sanskrit grammar. For instance, as I showed in my introduction, Buddhaghosa's use of Sanskrit grammar has been used to support the view that he was a Brahmin who converted to Buddhism. The Sanskritisation of post-canonical Pāli has also been described as the result of the interaction of Theravāda Buddhism with Brahmanical education systems. While Brahmanical culture may well have been a factor in Buddhist knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, this should not overshadow the existence of Buddhist education systems and Buddhist claims on the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition. For instance, Deshpande has observed that alongside the Brahmanical claims on the Pāṇinian tradition, some Mahāyāna Buddhists considered Pāṇini to be Buddhist and inspired by Avalokiteśvara.[47] He states that "beginning perhaps with the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, we may then say that the Buddhist Pāṇinians gradually dispensed with the 'Vedic' ideology connected with the purposes of Pāṇinian grammar and studied it for its very practical utility: to learn and describe the language."[48]

Furthermore, it is significant, as Pind has shown, that Buddhaghosa's own commentators almost always explain his grammatical analyses by reference to the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* and possibly the *Cāndra-vṛtti*.[49] Dharmadāsa, the author of the *Cāndra-vṛtti*, was almost certainly a Buddhist. In addition, Jayāditya, one of the authors of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, is often stated to be a Buddhist too.[50] However, this is a point of controversy and the issue is still largely unclear.[51] In any case, Buddhists during this period were highly involved in Sanskrit grammar and therefore it is quite possible that the Theravāda Buddhist participation in Sanskrit grammatical culture was articulated by Buddhist communities rather than Brahmanical communities. In addition, if my hypothesis proves correct and Buddhaghosa did in fact utilise a source that was common to both the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* and the *Cāndra-vṛtti*, it is possible that this source also sprang from Buddhist literary culture.

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[47] Deshpande 1997: 454.

[48] Deshpande 1997: 461.

[49] Pind 1989, 1990.

[50] Radicchi 2002: 165.

[51] "About the authors of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, i.e. Vāmana and Jayāditya, there is controversy about whether they were Buddhists." Deshpande 1997: 456.

Taking such hints in Buddhaghosa's commentaries as keys to an alternative intellectual history, it is possible to speculate that the early application of Sanskrit grammar to the Pāli language may be linked with Sanskrit-using Buddhist traditions with which the authors of the *Cāndra-vṛtti* and *Kāśikā-vṛtti* were also familiar. Such an alternative view of Buddhaghosa's engagement with other Buddhist groups would support Kalupahana's opinion that Buddhaghosa represents a "syncretic" Theravāda. He states that Buddhaghosa's great knowledge of other Buddhist sects seeps into his writing and that he introduces many doctrines of sects such as the Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra into Theravāda material. He imagines an alternative Theravāda history in which "the Theras, who according to Buddhaghosa, invited him to write the commentaries, were actually the monks who were keeping a vigilant eye over the manner in which he interpreted the teachings."[52]

6. Conclusions

Buddhaghosa's references to grammar indicate an engagement by the Theravāda *saṅgha* with a pan-South Asian grammatical culture. His use of Sanskrit grammar in the 5th century comes at a pivotal juncture in the history of the Sanskrit grammatical traditions and his commentaries show how Pāli literature can be used to investigate this period. An analysis of the commentarial lineages he may have been working with reveals that his use of Sanskrit grammar does not prove that he interacted with Brahmanical groups but may rather reflect an openness to other Buddhist literary cultures. Moreover, the Theravāda literati also cultivated their own traditions of Sanskrit grammar, which were separate from both Brahmanical and Mahāyānist usage. Therefore, much work is needed to provide a more nuanced understanding of the Theravāda Buddhist participation in South Asian literary cultures and the influence it had on the later Pāli tradition.

[52] Kalupahana 1970: 167.

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The Legend of the Earth Goddess and the Buddha[1]

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A piece of Buddhist iconography which is widely found throughout mainland Southeast Asia is the Earth deity wringing out her hair to drown Māra and his army at the time of the Buddha's enlightenment. This feature of the enlightenment story, however, is not found in the Tipiṭaka. The author offers an interpretation of the iconography as an allegorical visualization of the Buddha's way to attain enlightenment.

One of the most marvellous murals in Thailand is painted on the wall facing the Emerald Buddha.

The soon-to-be Buddha is seen seated under the Bo tree with his left hand cradled in his lap and his right hand placed next to the right knee with fingers touching the ground. On both sides, Māra – the evil one – and his army are seen attempting the final assault to prevent him from attaining enlightenment, but they are being engulfed by a flood of water.

The story, as given in the introduction to the collection of *Jātaka* stories, is that the Buddha was sitting all alone in meditation when Māra with his host confronted him. Having failed to frighten the Buddha with weapons, Māra began a verbal assault. He claimed that he had attained the moral perfection of generosity, and his host all roared that they bore witness to that; but who, cried Māra, could bear witness to the Buddha's having done the same? The Buddha said that in his birth as Vessantara he had attained the perfection of generosity. He said, "You

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jocbs. 2011 (1): 108–113.

have sentient witnesses, while in this place I have no sentient witness… But to my gifts this solid earth, though insentient, is a witness." At this he withdrew his right hand from inside his robe, extended it towards the earth, and asked her whether or not she was his witness. With the words "I was your witness then" the Earth made so great a noise that Māra's elephant mount knelt before the Buddha and Māra's forces fled in every direction.[2]

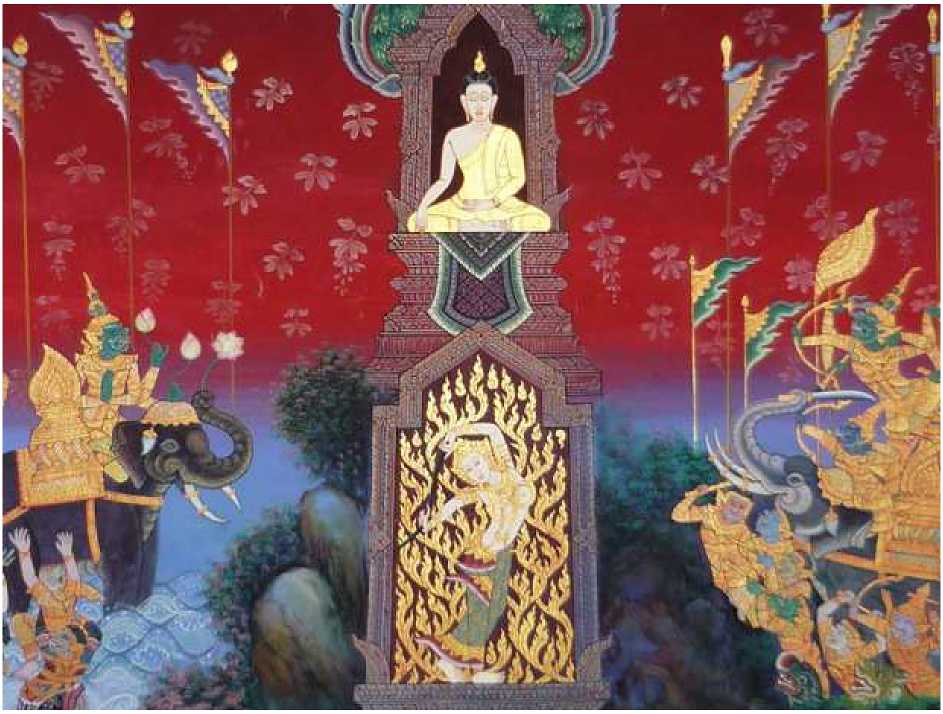


Figure 1: *The scene of the Buddha's enlightenment and the Earth Goddess (Wat Phra Yeun Yukollabat, Uttaradit)*

There is no flood in this version. The Earth Goddess, who is called Mae Thoranī[3] in Thai, loudly proclaimed her assent, and her roar alone was enough to scatter Māra's army. In the Indian tradition the Buddha's gesture as he calls her to

[2] The Jātaka, ed. Fausbøll, I, 74.
[3] This corresponds to the Sanskrit word *dhāraṇī*, one of the many words for "the earth".

witness is known as the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, “the gesture of touching the earth”; in Thailand it is called *Māravijaya*, “the conquest of Māra”, because this was the decisive moment at which Māra was defeated. As Māra is the personification of death (*maraṇa*), triumph over Māra is triumph over death. Nirvana is also known as “deathless” – freedom from rebirth and re-death.

In Buddhist iconography the Earth deity is usually shown as a female figure. In Sri Lanka she is normally shown as very small and depicted only down to the waist. In Thailand, on the other hand, she stands as a graceful figure in the sinuous pose known as *tribhaṅga*, “doubly bent”. Most strikingly, she is wringing out her tresses, and the torrent of water from them is drowning Māra’s army.

This scene is portrayed in countless temples across Thailand. I reproduce here two typical murals: from Wat Phra Yeun Yukollabat in the author’s hometown of Uttaradit (Figure 1), and from Wat Phra That Doi Suthep near Chiangmai (Figure 2).

Given the popularity of the tale, it will come as a surprise to many that this particular story cannot be found in the *Tipiṭaka*. Although there are stories in other Buddhist traditions of the earth bearing witness in various ways to the Buddha’s merits, the Earth Goddess’s wringing out her hair to drown Māra’s army is unique to mainland Southeast Asia.

In her comprehensive thesis on the subject, Elizabeth Guthrie wrote, “Although no textual source for the hair-wringing earth deity has yet been identified outside of mainland Southeast Asia, her iconography and story are too ancient and widely distributed across the cultures of the mainland to be attributed to one particular location.”[4]

She went on to conclude: “Many different stories, images and rituals about the deeds of the Buddhist earth deity at the time of the Enlightenment emerged in India during the first centuries of the Common Era in conjunction with the biography of the Buddha. These were then disseminated, along with Buddhism, throughout Asia during the first millennium of the Common Era, probably in successive waves, but most definitely from northeastern India, during the Pāla period.”[5]

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[4] Guthrie, Elizabeth (2004). “A Study of the History and Cult of the Buddhist Earth Deity in Mainland Southeast Asia”. PhD thesis. University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, p.ii.

[5] Guthrie, p.186.

She attributes the popularity of the hair-wringing episode to its incorporation into the *Paṭhamasambodhi*,[6] composed in the Lanna kingdoms during the 15th or 16th century, adding that, "This text was disseminated in both Pāli and the vernaculars throughout mainland Southeast Asia and eventually became the standard Life of the Buddha in the region."

In these popular versions, the torrent from the Earth Goddess' hair is said to be the mass of libation water poured by the Bodhisattva in his previous lives. Although this makes good sense as a reaction to Māra's claim of his own generosity, it leaves to be explained why the flow of generosity should have the effect of drowning Māra and his army. Therefore, the author would like to propose an alternative interpretation of this iconography with a stronger canonical relevance.

The basis of the metaphor of karma is growing plants. The act which produces karma is called a seed (*bīja*), the end result a fruit (*phala*). The *Tipiṭaka* is full of passages referring to the karmic jungle, which one is urged to radically demolish. The *Ratana Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* says of those who attain nirvana: *te khīṇabījā avirūḷhichandā*, "Destroyed are their germinal seeds; their desires no longer grow."[7]

This metaphor is extended when the moisture which allows plants to grow is compared to the desire/craving which creates (bad) karma. Verse 340 in the *Taṇhā* ("Craving") section of the *Dhammapada* reads: "Everywhere flow the streams, Everywhere the creepers sprout and stand. Seeing how the creeper has grown, Cut it off at the root with your understanding." (*Savanti sabbadhī sotā, latā ubbhijja tiṭṭhati. Taṃ ca disvā lataṃ jātaṃ mūlaṃ paññāya chindatha.*) The Pāli word *sota* literally means stream/flood/torrent and is often used metaphorically to refer to streams of cravings. Its double meanings point to the use of water as a metaphor for cravings in the context of karmic growth. The word *paññā*, "wisdom/understanding", is often said to cut through or cut off.

This reading is further supported by Bhikkhunī Selā's response to Māra in *Saṃyutta Nikāya*: "As when a seed is sown in a field / It grows depending on a pair of factors: / It requires both the soil's nutrients / And a steady supply of moisture: / Just so the aggregates and elements …"[8] The Pāli word *sineha*, here translated as "moisture", also has the meaning of affection/love/desire/lust – the

[6] Ed. George Coedès and Jacqueline Ver Eecke, Pali Text Society, 2003.

[7] Sutta-nipāta 235.

[8] I, 134, verses 550–1, trans. Bhikkhu Bodhi.

same as its principal usage in the Thai language. The simile here is thus built on a pun.

In a *sutta* called "Seeds" the Buddha says: "The four stations of consciousness should be seen as like the earth element. Delight and lust should be seen as like the water element. Consciousness together with its nutriment should be seen as like the five kinds of seeds..."[9] And elsewhere he says: "Kamma is the field, consciousness the seed, and craving the moisture to establish the consciousness of beings obstructed by ignorance and fettered by craving in a low (middling, superior) cosmic stratum. This is how future renewed existence is produced." (*Kammam khettaṃ, viññāṇaṃ bījam, taṇhā sineho hīnāya (majjhimāya, paṇītāya) dhātuyā viññāṇaṃ patiṭṭhitaṃ; evaṃāyatiṃ punabbhavābhinibbatti hoti*).[10]

It is, therefore, plausible that the Buddhist iconographers may have given this analogy visible expression. Nirvana means eradicating karmic growth. The rest of the world drowns in the moisture (*sineha*) of the desire which leads to continual rebirth. This fatal flood is visualized as emerging from the Earth, just as in the above metaphors and similes the earth is where the seeds of karma are planted and receive the moisture which allows them to grow. At his enlightenment, the Buddha has escaped all that forever; he is sitting there high and dry.

This interpretation may also explain why one of the epithets for an *arahant* (enlightened one) is *khīṇāsava*. As *khīṇa* means "waned away", and *āsava* literally means "influx"[11] an *arahant* is therefore one who no longer experiences the stream of cravings.

The iconography thus carries two messages at once. On the one hand, the Earth is the Buddha's decisive ally who help him at the crucial moment to win the battle against Māra. On the other, she does so in a way that vividly illustrates that the Buddha's victory is not only over Death but also over Desire; those who stand against him are overwhelmed by a form of death which symbolises their own desires.

The scene of the Buddha's enlightenment is, therefore, given a stronger interpretation, which not only depicts the Buddha's triumph over death, but also the particular way in which he attained it: cessation of cravings leads to cessation of death and rebirth.

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[9] *Saṃyutta Nikāya* III, 54, trans. Bhikkhu Bodhi.

[10] *Anguttara Nikāya* I, 223–4, trans. Bhikkhu Bodhi.

[11] Richard Gombrich, What the Buddha Thought, pp.55–6.

If this interpretation of the Earth Goddess is correct, it reinforces the emphasis Buddhism places on freedom from cravings. It is, therefore, unfortunate that many Thai Buddhists blindly believe in swindlers who dream up various outrageous methods to "cut the bonds of karma" for a fee, when all they need to do is work on their own desire.



Figure 2: *Wat Phra That Doi Suthep near Chiangmai*

Ven. Walpola Rahula and the politicisation of the Sinhala Sangha

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This essay tries to describe the influence of the Bhikkhus in Sinhala politics as demonstrated by the ideology, work and life of the Ven. Walpola Rahul-perhaps the most influential scholar monk in the modern Sangha of Sri Lanka. The attempt is to show how the Maha Sangha became the key actors in the continuum of an ideology of Sinhala ethnicity, their ownership of the island and duty to protect Sinhala Buddhist culture. Rahula's contribution has created a new brand of Sangha who are committed to a different political path to redefine Sinhala Buddhism and modern Sri Lanka.

In many states, the last few decades of the 20th century witnessed the beginning of a rapid but systematic desecularisation of the public space. The process could even be violent, with 9/11 standing as an extreme manifestation; but the phenomenon went much deeper, and had transformative effects within, as well as between, states. Some have labelled this a 'new cold war' (Juergensmeyer 2010a, 2010b, 2009, 2008, 2005) or an apolitical re-secularisation (Beyer 1994) generated within a particular religious discourse (Haynes 2001). But on closer inspection, dialectical negotiation between sovereign state power on the one hand and non-state spiritual power centres on the other is neither new nor restricted to a particular faith or nation. Almost all major religions, whether western or eastern, renouncer or redeemer, monotheist or agnostic, have contested for sovereignty, even before the idea of a state came into existence. The church/king relationship, and the idea of *Ummah or dharmaraj*, are well documented in the annals of political history.

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Yet while the politics of religion has received the attention of a growing number of comparative political scientists, the great majority have focused on global or regional trends (such as globalisation, transnational diasporas, international religious terrorism, etc), at the cost of ignoring the microdynamics of this process of desecularisation. The power of religion to shape and direct the mind-set of an individual state is largely ignored, or at best marginalised. A notion of faith, as an independent variable affecting intra- as much as inter-state relations, is often pushed aside as epiphenomenal, subjective, and hence invalid from the viewpoint of a realist fixation on a certain type of power. But a re-assessment is long overdue, even if one takes a purely positivist approach. The power of theo-politics and its impact on the world today should impel us to adjust our focus: the relationship of religion to politics, far from being marginal, should be at the centre of the study. An open-minded but careful survey around the world, especially in relation to conflict resolution, democracy and justice, will compel us to re-engage with the instrumental capacity of faith politics with newer methodological persuasiveness and theoretical creativity. To achieve such an outcome in comparative politics, a move beyond the 'paradigms war' (Bellin 2008) is needed.

Sinhala Sangha activism

Within the scope of political science, one cannot understand the processes of accessing and using power, individually or collectively, without studying those who aspire to alter the course of their society. The lives and ideologies of those individuals who venture to influence a polity must be studied in order to understand its social values and governing conditions. Just as there cannot be a balanced understanding of Buddhism without studying the life and work of the Buddha, so the same holds true for any other social movement that succeeds in creating inroads in its immediate society and its successors. The social dynamics which have been supported or reintroduced by the politically active Sangha in modern Sri Lanka cannot be analysed without understanding the primary motivations for their political engagement. These motivations, if we can identify them in their original form, will enable us to unlock the motivating ideas that legitimised the Sangha's entry into mainstream politics. The most reliable way of understanding this motivation, I suggest, is to study the life of a few key selected Sangha members, who in many ways shaped the modern political paradigm in Sri Lanka.

The arrival, establishment, growth and defence of Buddhism in Sri Lanka have always happened under the leadership of Sangha. After the initial introduction of

Buddhism from India in the third century BC, the Sinhala Sangha acted as leaders of the Sasana. Throughout its 2000 years of survival, the Sinhala Sangha has performed two fundamental functions:

(i) Protecting and promoting Theravada Buddhism
(ii) Fighting those who are a threat to their faith

The *Mahāvaṃsa* is the epic record of the historical role of the Sangha and those kings who helped them achieve those aims. Records suggest that one can identify at least seven high points of Sangha activism in recent history.

Period	Key persons	Key Features
1750–1770	Tamil King of Kandy, Kirthi Siri Rajasinghe Ven. Velivita Saranankara	Re-establishing the Sangha ordination after some 200 years
1800–1815	Dutch Rulers Ven. Ambagahapitiye Gnanawimala	Helping the Lower Caste Sangha Ordination beginning with the *Amarapura* chapter, helped by the Burmese Sangha
1860–1875	Wesleyan Missionaries: Rev. Daniel John Gogerly, Rev. Spence Hardy, Ven. Mohottiwatte Gunananda, Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala	Defending Sinhala Buddhism against Christian missionaries 5 great public debates – *Panadura vadaya*
1885–1900	Arrival of the Theosophists Col. Henry Olcott Anagarika Dharmapala	Protestant form of lay Buddhism Buddhist schools Buddhist flag
1930–1945	D.S. Senanayake Ven. Walpola Rahula	Sangha initiative for organised demand for Independence
1956–1972	SWRD Bandaranaike Ven. Walpola Rahula Ven. Mapitigama Buddharakkhita	Buddhism made state religion. Sinhala made the official language of the state. Sri Lanka declared a unitary state
1995–2010	Chandrika Kumaratunge Velupillai Prabakaran Mahinda Rajapakse Ven. Gangodawila Soma Ven. Athuraliye Rathana	Urging the Sinhalas to return to their Buddhism. Advocating a Buddhist Government led by the Sangha. Justifying war against the Tamil Tigers Rejecting the Federalist Proposals

These protest waves aimed to reform Sinhala Buddhism (1750-1815), to defend the same (1860-1900), to entrench it in the Constitution and public life (1930-1972) and to war against what threatened it (1995-2010). A trajectory which started from reviving the Buddhism of the Sinhalas changed into waging a war to defend their language and their right to rule a unitary island. This can be seen as re-ideologising the key themes of the *Mahāvaṃsa*: the uniqueness of Sinhala

Buddhism, the supremacy of the Sinhala race, their legitimacy as rulers of this blessed land whatever the context.

During the period of transformative political opportunities and challenges from 1995 to 2010, as in earlier periods of history, many members of the Sangha came forward to interpret, influence and redirect the politics, and ultimately the state of Sri Lanka. Amid the deeply destabilising forces of globalisation that had shaken the foundations of the traditional security of Sri Lanka society, these monks found a new and more energised moral authority to intervene from the sacred sphere to the secular. Added to this external influence, Sri Lanka was facing political failure, largely due to the protracted ethnic war. The majority of monks either watched passively or hoped for immediate dramatic change. However, a section of the Sangha decided to make a political intervention. From this mobilisation emerged a few key actors as *yugapuruṣa* or 'heroes of the age' – those who could symbolise an epoch and become the redeemers of the *Raṭa*, *Jātiya* and *Āgama* (country, race and religion). With a weak political authority unable to find a new direction, these monks became a natural focus of hope for political recovery.

For a number of reasons, I have selected the work of Venerable Walpola Rahula to explain this political phenomenon. They include, but are not limited to, the deep influence he exerted on the politics of Sinhala society during the period under study. He decontextualised the historicised *Māhavaṃsa* ideology and managed to mobilise this image as an overarching political force. This article is not a biography of this venerable activist. I confine myself to trying to uncover the key motives of a learned and eminent monk who had renounced this world but nevertheless returned to a political life, and to showing his impact by shifting paradigms in a paradoxical way.

Life and early work of Walpola Rahula (1907–1997)

By the middle of the 1940s the British Raj, which had paid a historic price to stop the Nazi advance in Europe, was forced to rethink her colonial politics, especially in Asia, where Russia and China had emerged as new and permanent power blocks (Elbaum and Lazonick 1982:567; Jones 1982:239). Holding on to 19th-century colonial politics was promising to bring more harm than benefit. The resulting changed post-war foreign policy compelled the British Government to draw up plans to withdraw from India and Ceylon almost simultaneously. In India, by this time, M.K. Gandhi had done enough work to ignite the freedom

struggle. Many factors, combined with Gandhi's historic non-violent political engagement, had by the late 1940s rendered inevitable the political independence of India.

Sri Lanka stood to benefit from this major regional realignment, even in the absence of any similar charismatic leadership or state-wide agitation for independence among the Sri Lankan political élites (Manor 1990, 1989, 1985). Instead, the political class, which had benefited from the trade and plantation sector of the British administration, sought only a comfortable compromise with the colonists. The exclusive and inter-related families at the top of the power structure in Sri Lanka preferred to continue most, if not all, forms of colonial ties, which conferred immediate benefits on them as a ruling class (Jayawardane 2002, Moore 1989). But Sri Lanka's ruling class has never consisted only of civilians. As has often happened in the country's history, the politically motivated, often urbanised, middle-class sections of the Sangha saw an opportunity to become involved, and to regain their historic influence.

It was the Sangha who first embraced the radical spirit of the Indian movement for freedom and independence. Two Sangha academic centres in the island by then had produced many influential monks who were positioning themselves as key social authorities. Anthropologist H.L. Seneviratne (1999) has vividly documented the social transformation of these monks, as they exchanged their *lokuttara* (supramundane) spiritual responsibilities for *laukika* (worldly) secular power politics. They moved from the position of spiritual guides, who guide society towards benefits in the other world, to that of political agitators who argue for a certain order in this world. This was a natural extension of the pioneering work of the lay Buddhist revivalists Anagarika Dharmapala and Olcott, which had yet to mature. Dharmapala and others who travelled to India for Buddhist missionary work had witnessed the radical political transformation sweeping that land. They had also experienced the transforming role of the religious authorities in shaping the politics to come in an independent state. These mobilised members of the Sangha were keen to generate and institutionalise the same social activism, and consequent impact, back in Sri Lanka. The faculty of Vidyalankara was arguing for the formation of a more radical opposition, aiming to transform the immediate political future of the island. Among them, Walpola Rahula was a powerful articulator with an appealing style of writing.

Rahula was born in the Walpola area of Matara District, in the deep south of Sri Lanka, on 9 May 1907. For historical reasons, southern Sri Lankan Bud-

dhism had always been the radical basis for an agitating Protestant Buddhism (Malalgoda 1979). Anagarika Dharmapala, Hikkaduve Sri Sumangala and Mohottivatte Gunananda are three examples of southern Buddhist reformists who had created a permanent radical and political facet of modern Sinhala Buddhism. Rahula's social background was one in which radical reformist Buddhist social engagement was a spiritual movement with a long and proud history.

Rahula entered a temple school as a boy and was ordained by the age of fifteen. A promising student, he continued with Buddhist studies alongside his secular curriculum, including mathematics and English literature. Rahula became the subject of a rare social debate when he entered the then Ceylon University College as the first member of the Sinhala Sangha to enter a secular university. His upper middle class social background supported this liberal move. The opportunity to read and study secular literature made Rahula immediately question some of the basic popular notions and practices of the Sangha of his time. The young monk soon became popular for his critical engagement with the traditional establishment of the temple and its social inactivity. Rahula took to preaching – of a reformist kind, calling on the institutionalised Sangha to rediscover their lost heritage.

Rahula disseminated his calls for reform through a series of pamphlets published in 1933–34 under the title *Satyodaya Patrikā* ('Truth-revealing papers'). Learning from the success of Christian missionaries at disseminating religious discourse through printed material, Rahula found the free distribution of his printed views on Buddhism, Sangha and Sinhala society a far more effective method of social engagement than the limited alternative of preaching at temples to those who were willing to gather. Rahula was keen to exploit any platform that could be used to advance his argument, thus redefining the role of the Sangha in society and the polity governing it.

In the early 1940s, Rahula became an active participant in the workers' struggle to gain fair wages and improved working conditions from the major plantations and trading companies, whose owners were often British investors. As a young, articulate monk, he was a natural leader in protest activities. Rahula's radicalism threatened the established order, and he was imprisoned for a while for his active role in inciting labour strikes. As has often happened in history when a radical is imprisoned, the effect only made him a more determined social reformer (Rodriguez 2006; Cuthbertson 2004:15-27). On his release, Rahula gave priority to calls for serious reform issued in the first place by his associates in

the traditional Sangha and then by other sectors of Sinhala society, notably lay Buddhists and political leaders. He gained popular support for his radical criticism of established, property-owning senior monks for their abject failure to lead Sinhala society to its full potential. Rahula's social agitation was well-grounded in the universal compassion of Theravada Buddhist theology, which seeks liberation and happiness for all.

Rahula by now fully understood the potential of the written word, and in late 1946 he published a manifesto for the future. This was in many ways an answer to his traditionalist critics. *Bhikṣuvāgē Urumaya* or 'The Heritage of the Bhikshu', was eventually to become the manual for contemporary Sangha politics in Sri Lanka. It was published two years before the British left Sri Lanka. Thus Rahula by his single, comparatively small, yet strategic and well-formulated intervention laid the foundation for a redefinition of the role of the Sangha in an independent Buddhist state after 438 years of European colonial occupation. All modern Sangha activists, irrespective of affiliation or ideology, have held this text as their handbook for secular political activism. The book became, even for conservatives, a cornerstone of the Sangha's justification for secular and especially political engagement. Running into its fourteenth edition in 2009 and with thousands of copies distributed to almost every functioning temple library in the island, the 'Heritage' in many ways permanently altered the traditional understanding of the dialectical relationship between the Sinhala Sangha and the society in which they live.

Bhikṣuvāgē Urumaya: The Heritage of a Bhikshu

The text of the *Heritage*, a work that 'has influenced the monkhood more than any other in the recent history of Sri Lankan Theravada Buddhism' (Seneviratne p.135), remains, for at least two reasons, of historic importance for understanding and analysing modern Sangha politics in Sri Lanka. First, the book, while published as a single text, in fact represented the collective articulation of a pre-independence discourse of the activist Sangha. Second, it laid the ideological foundation for the post-independent/contemporary politics of the Sangha. Largely middle-class and urbanised, with above average education and exposure to foreign or regional societies, these comparatively élitist monks were eager to construct a social order where the once glorified political power of the Sangha would be re-established in the independent Sri Lanka. The Vidyalankara faculty, which envisaged a modern Sri Lanka defined only by her Buddhist past, led the dis-

course, and acted as the bridge-builders between a textualised past and an imagined future, in which the Sangha would take centre stage in the social and political order of Sinhala society.

The *Heritage* was not an isolated work. At least two previous texts paved the radical path for Rahula's publication. One was published on 13 February 1946, when the entire faculty of the Vidyalankara unanimously put forward what came to be known as the *'Declaration of Vidyalankara'*, a text that called for a radical re-establishment of the powers of the Sangha in the political system. In concluding their Declaration, the faculty claimed:

> 'In the ancient days, according to the records of history, the welfare of the nation and the welfare of the religion were regarded as synonymous terms by the laity as well as by the Sangha. The divorce of religion from the nation was an idea introduced into the minds of the Sinhalese by invaders from the West, who belonged to an alien faith. It was a convenient instrument of astute policy to enable them to keep the people in the subjugation in order to rule the country as they pleased.
>
> It was in their own interest and not for the welfare of the people that these foreign invaders attempted to create a gulf between the bhikkhus and the laity - a policy they implemented with diplomatic cunning. We should not follow their example and should not attempt to withdraw bhikkhus from society. Such conduct would assuredly be a deplorable act of injustice, committed against our nation, our country and our religion.
>
> Therefore, we publicly state that both our bhikkhus and our Buddhist leaders should avoid the pitfall of acting hastily, without deliberation and foresight, and should be beware of doing a great disservice to our nation and religion.
>
> Feb, 02 1946 Signed K. Pannasara Chief High Priest of Colombo and Chilaw district' (*Heritage*:133)

It is clear that the collective Sangha at Vidyalankara in arguing a new social order once again borrowed from the past and re-introduced the traditional notion of 'integrated governance' of religion and race, as Vesna Wallace has recently shown (2010:94). This interpretation was significant. It sprang from historicised Sinhala Buddhist ideology where violence, if needed, was justified by a 'just war' thesis

(Bartholomeusz 2001, 2002). For these monks, as leading visionaries of an independent Sri Lanka, 'our nation' meant the Sinhala race, 'our country' meant the island ruled by the Buddhists, and 'our religion' meant Sinhala Buddhism. It was actualising the ideology of the *Mahāvaṃsa* in modern Sri Lanka, in many ways denying and dismissing the multi-faith, multi-ethnic social structure of the island: a political tragedy from which the island has not yet been able to recover.

The second text important for the context of the *Heritage* was the *Kelaniya (Temple) Declaration of Political Independence*. On the strategically important and culturally charged full moon day of 6 January 1947, at an elaborate ceremony led by the chief monk of this historic temple, a group of monks made what in modern terms may be termed as a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). They declared Sri Lanka a sovereign, independent state with full rights to self-determination without foreign domination, and all foreign occupations illegal and immoral. After tracing the historical glory of the land, a brief statement declared:

> 'We, therefore, the Sangha of Sri Lanka, the Guardians of Life and Liberty and Sponsors of the Wellbeing and Happiness of the people of this island, assembled on this hallowed spot sanctified by the touch of the feet of the Master, do hereby declare and publish on behalf of the people, that Sri Lanka claims its right to be a Free and Independent Sovereign State, that it has resolved to absolve itself from all allegiances to any Power, State or Crown and that all political connection between it and any other state is hereby dissolved; and that as a free and Independent Sovereign State it has full right to safeguard its Freedom and Independence, to contract alliances and do all other acts and things which Independent States may by right do.
>
> For due recognition of the rectitude of our action and for the support of the claim made under this Declaration, we, the Sangha of Sri Lanka, hereby appeal to the conscience and sense of justice of all right-thinking people of the world.
>
> Declared on this auspicious anniversary of the Buddha's first visit to Sri Lanka, Monday, the full-moon day of Duruthu in the year 2490 of the Buddhist era in the new Gandhakuti of the Sri Kalyani Raja Maha Vihara' (*Heritage*:136)

The declaration could not be made in isolation. Discussions to hand over rule were well under way. However, by anticipating actual independence, the Sangha

repositioned themselves as champions of the freedom struggle. Sinhala Buddhism was claimed to be the legitimate political force in independent Sri Lanka, and Sinhala ethno-religious nationalism was superimposed on the core values of Theravada Buddhist ethics, hegemonising Sinhala rule over the entire island. The narrative style, the words chosen and the dating of the declaration all show the determination of the Sangha to return to their heritage after some 440 years of colonial rule.

This declaration dramatised the imagination of the political élite and other nationalist forces in the country. The same historical religious forces gave them the impetus to reformulate the contemporary socio-political order. Their political energy gathered around the radical monks, building a pressure chamber ready to explode in any form allowed. Rahula included both these texts in his *Heritage*, which instantly became a ready reference work for political activism amongst the Sangha.

The *Heritage* is rooted in the vision of Dharmapala and Olcott for the Sangha and its supporters: to be at the centre, not the neglected periphery, of Sinhala society and politics. The enthusiasm it generated among the Sangha across the island worried members of the political élite, including D.S. Senanayake, the agriculture minister in the last pro-colonist government. D.S. was considered a champion of the Buddhist cause, and was expected to be the first Prime Minister of an independent Sri Lanka. Yet he feared the power of this new Sangha nationalism. He tried to win over key members of Vidyalankara, instead the monks of this new social force organised themselves under the civil banner of the Lanka Eksath Bhikshu Mandalaya (LEBM), or the United Bhikkhu Organisation of Lanka. This was the first such organisation in modern Sri Lanka amongst the Sangha, a para-political social phenomenon that would have a deep impact in the decades to come (Kent 2010; Gamage 2009; De Votta 2007; Wickramsinghe 2006; Frydenlund 2004; Harris 2001). While an early attempt to form a civil organisation among the Sangha was made at the 1938 Lanka Bhikshu Sammelanaya (Bhikkhu Conference of Sri Lanka), it could not mobilise the same forces as the LEBM. It was against this background that the *Heritage* became a textbook for Sangha politics in the early years of the independence movement in Sri Lanka. In this booklet, Rahula provided the legitimacy and the theoretical justification for a new brand of *dēśapālana bhikṣuvā* ('political monk') or *bhikṣu dēśapālanaya* ('Sangha politics'), as he named them (*Heritage*: xiii).

To date there has not, to my knowledge, been an academic analysis of the text and the social impact of the *Heritage* from a comparative political science perspective. However, the continued popularity of the text, and the authority and legitimacy drawn from it, are testimony to the acceptance it continues to enjoy. Rahula predicted the success of his own polemic. He declared in the introduction to the second edition that through the text a new justification for the political activism of the Sangha had been realised. It is evident that Rahula foresaw that the Sangha of Sri Lanka would obtain the political role he argued for.

Structure and narrative of the *Heritage*

Rahula shapes the narrative of the *Heritage* strategically, so that it could be divided into five basic sections as follows:

(i) the historical development of Buddhism and the Sangha in Sri Lanka (chapters 1–5);
(ii) the role of the Sangha in developing a unique Sinhala culture (chapters 6–10);
(iii) the three European invasions and the role of the Sangha in the fight for independence (chapters 11–14);
(iv) British / Christian strategies to destroy Buddhism and the Sangha in Sri Lanka (chapters 15–19); and
(v) the essential need for a new revival (chapter 20).

Out of the vast body of canonical texts, he highlights what one might call minor themes of Theravada Buddhism to advance his political agenda. He employs at the outset a very liberal and selective interpretation of the Theravada scriptures, wilfully ignoring the holistic approach that underlies the teachings of the *Tipiṭaka*. By tradition, as most historians, anthropologists, theologians and social scientists have agreed, the Buddhist teaching conveyed in a large body of literature has predominantly advocated renouncing the world. Theravada Buddhism has championed a strict form of social withdrawal in every ideological and conceptual sense. Rahula himself, during his time at the Sorbonne, would later defend the Theravada school against its Mahayana competitors in his popular essays such as *What the Buddha Taught* (1959) and *Zen and the Taming of the Bull* (1978). However, in the *Heritage*, his mission seems to be openly political and narrowly nationalist. He focuses on the close links between the Sangha and society and adduces Buddhist canonical texts to justify his stand.

In the opening chapter of the book, Rahula uses the respectable but ambiguous conceptual discourse of Theravada and 'service to others'. Indeed, he opens his text with the statement, 'Buddhism is based on services to others'. This is no accident. His aim is to build a broad-based audience around a widely acceptable common currency. There can be no opposition to the call for service to society, which Rahula supports with the story (from the introduction to the *Jātaka* book) of an earlier life of the Buddha as the hermit Sumedha, who gives up the opportunity soon to enter nirvana in order to be of service to others.

> 'He [Sumedha] renounced nirvana as suffering in samsara and took upon himself suffering in samsara for the others as nirvana' (p. 3)

He continues by constructing a chronological history of the Sangha and its life, setting in a modern context the *Mahāvaṃsa* ideal of the hegemonic relationship of a Sinhala Sangha to the state. He begins with the birth of the Buddha, thus locating the origin and authority of the Sangha in the founder of the faith himself. After briefly giving selected highlights in the history of the establishment of the Buddhist church in India and Sri Lanka, Rahula gives an account of an ancient Sri Lanka in which the Sangha were the main religious, social and political force. His narrative is mostly based on the *Mahāvaṃsa*, with clever use of incidents and context that support his political aims.

Seneviratne, an unreserved critic of Rahula, maintains that the latter's use of 'service to others' was nothing but a pretext: 'The Vidyalankara idea that the monk's vocation is social service was revolutionary, in that it has provided monks with an unprecedented excuse to seek profit and other secular goals. It has opened the floodgates and given rise to a new monkhood that many thoughtful members of the culture view with alarm'. (Seneviratne et al. p. 195) Elsewhere he writes, 'The main reason why these new monks, who claimed their work is community service, have failed to live up to the standards of service envisaged for them by Dharmapala [and other key Buddhist figures] is that they have never intended any such [community service] in the first place. What they meant by community service was a licence for themselves to have greater involvement with secular society, beginning with politics' (p. 338). Seneviratne goes on to argue that the actual impact of Rahula's intervention is contrary to the true nature of the Theravada monkhood and is misleading the morality of the Sangha.

> 'The true and clear commitment of the monk is to the other-worldly goal, and when that is taken away, the monkhood is freed of its basis

> and monks can engage in any activity. ... But when the floodgates are opened, as when knowledge is elevated over practice, there is no inner way to control the activities of monks, whereas such control is the essence of the renouncer's commitment' (p. 172).

Seneviratne continues,

> 'In the *Urumaya* and in the *History* [*of Buddhism in Ceylon*] it suits Rahula to be an advocate of a Buddhism that glorifies social intercourse with lay society ... the receipt of salaries and other forms of material remuneration; ethnic exclusivism and Sinhala Buddhist hegemony; militancy in politics; and violence, war and the spilling of blood in the name of "preserving the religion". (p. 186).

Seneviratne was prescient: many of his theses have been corroborated by the passage of time and the political developments of the Sangha. Yet, taking the *Heritage* objectively, there is no doubt that Rahula very cleverly built on what was already there and influenced the Sinhala Sangha social psyche and the society at large. It may not be close to the Pali canonical writings and their intended message, but one cannot deny the historical fact that Sinhala Buddhism has, over the course of 2000 years, evolved a different set of norms and values and transformed into a Protestant Sinhala Buddhism. As summarised by Tilakaratne:

> 'Throughout the history of Buddhism, there seem to have been two categories of monks, or rather, monks with two different slants. The best example of this division is the two great elders of the time of the Buddha, namely, Maha Kassapa and Ananda. The former was the epitome of relentless ascetic practice and austerity characterised by living in the forest, dislike for women, etc., clearly even more austere than the Buddha himself. Ananda was the exact opposite: city-dwelling, active, busy, a perfect private secretary, co-ordinator and champion of the liberation of women, visiting and meeting people. The texts say that Ananda could not attain arahanthood, the perfection of the path, until the Buddha attained parinibbana. But the irony is that the person who lived closest to the Buddha and who kept the entire teaching in his memory was unable to realise the main goal of his monastic life. Had Ananda not spent his time for things like preservation of the teaching, he would have attained arahanthood

> much earlier, but posterity would have been deprived of the opportunity of following the teaching of the Buddha after he was gone. As Seneviratne holds, the dhamma is to be practised and not to be protected. But it does not seem that we can easily escape the hard reality exemplified in the story of Ananda. It is true that not all were like Ananda or even followed him. But the modes of behaviour exemplified in the lives of the two elders has persisted throughout the history of Buddhism. Categories such as gantha-dhura and vipassana-dhura, dhamma-kathita and pansukulika, and gama-vasi and aranna-vasi that became important in the subsequent history of Buddhism may be traced back to the two elders.' (Tilakaratne 2003, Bath Papers)

The delicate balance between this world and the other may have tilted towards historical and socio-political factors and away from doctrinal practices in the case of Sri Lanka. But the paradoxical tensions between them are real, and create opportunities which Rahula was able to exploit at a critical time.

Rahula borrowed from the argument developed by Anagarika Dharmapala. Yet the 'service to others' Rahula had in mind is far from the kind of service the average village Buddhists were familiar with. Rahula's project was to exploit the existing tradition of community service for a mass mobilisation to recapture the politically influential positions that the Sangha had historically enjoyed. This was a vision, based on the *Mahāvaṃsa*, targeting the future independent state of Sri Lanka and its governing structure. The *Heritage* appeared under conditions that were ripe for channelling existing social forces into a new political destiny; and as a monk with enough secular education and exposure to regional, especially Indian, political development, Rahula aimed his text at the waiting new generation of younger monks who had benefitted from a liberal education under the colonial administration. The new community of monks who were able to travel and meet more freely than their teachers, and read and understand secular sciences, were energised by Rahula's arguments and the intellectual debate he constructed. To many younger monks who desired a liberated monastic order, he had provided a blueprint for action. They had been waiting for an acceptable mandate from a respectable voice. Rahula's writing, and the argument of the *Heritage*, inspired them to take Sinhala Buddhism and its Sangha in a new direction that would alter both its own destiny and the political fate of the island.

With the success and the acceptance of the *Heritage*, Rahula took to task the relaxed, rural Sangha leadership. With self-appointed authority, he challenged

the ritualistic lifestyle of the average senior monk in Sri Lanka. He even sarcastically stigmatised the fundamental rituals of the Sangha, which were mainly limited to preaching, officiating at Buddhist funerals and conducting the calendrical festivals of the temples. Rahula's calculated attack on the rural Sangha attracted urban monks who were searching for new ways to criticise the detachment of the monkhood from the life of the average Buddhist. Rahula provided a moral justification for the many urban monks who were keener to associate themselves with the political powers of the cities than to serve in the difficult and challenging rural temples. It was also a perfect springboard for those monks who by now were fascinated by the socialist political ideologies in the political landscape. It was this section of the Sangha that the pioneering socialist movements of Sri Lanka targeted and used as an agent of social mobility. As sociologist Kumari Jayawardena noted, 'These strikes were led by petty-bourgeoisie which included Buddhist revivalists, the unorthodox fringe of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie and Theosophists, social reformers, temperance workers, and the more politically conscious nationalists who first gave the urban workers an element of trade union and class consciousness' (1973:6).

There were a number of factors that helped the *Heritage* to galvanise political sections of the Sangha. Rahula's historical contribution was to plant an ideological seed that was later to grow into one of the most significant political forces in Sri Lanka. The role of the contemporary Sangha in justifying the war against the Tamil Tigers is well recorded. Rahula's social context was characterised by a number of powerful factors:

(i) the inescapable fact of historical political leadership by a Sinhala Sangha
(ii) the diminished influence of the Sangha during the centuries of foreign rule
(iii) a growing frustration with the traditional Sangha leadership
(iv) a period of political uncertainty and transition
(v) personal values and beliefs

Rahula stood true to his ideology of the societal role of the monkhood until his death. In the mid-1990s, towards the end of his life, he again came to the political forefront. In 1995–1997, he gave leadership to oppose the peace process and the proposed constitutional changes to accommodate the demands of the Tamil ethnic minority. The Chandrika government proposed a constitutional amendment which aimed to address the root causes of Tamil political grievances; it was well received by most moderate, intellectual and academic sections of civil society. This promised a democratic solution to the political crisis which would end the

violent war that was raging. Yet this attempt of the Chandrika government failed due to the formidable forces of the Sangha who opposed the process, largely on grounds of Sinhala Buddhist hegemony. Of course, they had the brutalities of the Tamil Tigers' terrorism as a valid excuse for their opposition.

It is therefore important to ask why Sinhala society is influenced more by the political Sangha than by the eremitic and ascetic monks who propagate a canonical Theravada Buddhism. How is it possible for individual, politically motivated monks to make their involvement in daily secular life acceptable to ordinary people and intervene in public life? It is a historical fact that socio-politics, rather than the canonical texts, has become the key point of reference for Sinhala monks. In the social debate, the Sangha have initiated and cultivated a tradition in which they are more *bhūmiputra*s, 'sons of the soil' than *Buddhaputra*s or 'sons of the Buddha' (Amunugama 1991a, 1991b, 1985). For these monks, the Buddha himself is the exemplar of dialectical socio-politics. He dealt with kings and advised them on war and peace. He encouraged the Sangha to remain closer to the royal courts. And finally, in the *Cakkavatti Sīhanāda Sutta*, he predicted a just king in the shadow of the future Buddha.

Rahula, by his well-timed intervention in the form of the *Heritage*, seems to have achieved two distinct but convergent aims. (i) He legitimised the secularisation of the modern Sangha and its interpretation of Buddhism as exclusively Sinhala, and (ii) de-legitimised the 'other', opposing voices who disagreed with his thesis. At a time when the political future of the island was more uncertain than ever, Rahula's arguments were a focal point for Sinhala nationalism, the ancient force that had once lost its direction but was now re-conceptualised by the articulate and culturally compatible scholarship of the Sangha. The ethnic politics of later years were the natural extension of this inclusive and exclusive process. Here, as Derrida has pointed out, the 'other' becomes the historical rogue or rogue against whom society needs to be reconfigured and secured (2005:64). In Sri Lanka, in the Sinhala Buddhist narrative, there has been an 'other' who is often a 'rogue' in every political and social sense. This is how society, the state and even the future are defined: it is not an exceptional condition but rather the norm. Once the 'otherness' is constructed and established, it justifies the punitive political order which is often the centralised mechanism of exclusion and inclusion. At the dawn of Independence in the late 1940s, when Rahula presented his *Heritage* thesis, it was the colonial administration and everything associated with it that was perceived and presented as the rogue. As we have seen, it did not take long

for the ethno-religious nationalism of Sinhala Buddhism to replace them with the non-Buddhists who shared the island as the new rogues in independent Sri Lanka.

The identification of 'rogues' within a system naturally demands action: action by every citizen to cleanse these rogues from the societal order. The necessity of action legitimises a continued exclusion and a punitive mechanism for any alternatives or deviations. The excluded, in return, will react in a manner that further justifies the political labels of 'other' and 'rogue'. The Tamil Tigers during their three-decade use of political terrorism did just that. The LTTE with their textbook terror campaign reinforced the dreadful imaginings of the majority Sinhala mind, reproducing a whole social psychology that justified a war within a Sinhala Buddhist discourse. Ven. Athuraliye Rathana, the current leader of the Jātika Hela Urumaya, the all-monk political party in Sri Lanka's present parliament, echoed the essence of this discourse:

> 'There are two central concepts of Buddhism: compassion and wisdom. If compassion was a necessary and sufficient condition, then the Buddha would not have elaborated on wisdom or *prajñā*. Hitler could not have been overcome by *maitriya* alone. Today there is a discourse about peace in Sri Lanka. It is an extremely artificial exercise and one that is clearly being orchestrated under the threat of terrorist attack. Our responsibility is to ensure that the *jātika sammuti* [national consensus] is given voice and the lie of the conflict *sammuti* is exposed.' (Ven Rathana at Bath conference, 2003.)

This process is the result of a deep insecurity which generates a violent anxiety. Modern observers of Sri Lanka's political process have testified that it has repeatedly reproduced this social force, often led by a culturally élitist Sangha. The Ven. Prof. Walpola Rahula was only one of those who, at a critical point in the modern history of Sri Lanka, permanently reshaped the polity of the island.

Rahula single-handedly answered those critics and scholars who lamented the development of a brand of Buddhism that contradicted, or at least diverged from, the traditional teachings of the Theravada canon and tradition (Gombrich 1998; Obeyesekere 1995; Ling 1983:60-69; Smith 1972). The trajectory conceptualised by Rahula and developed by his later followers had a decisive impact on the polity of Sri Lanka. Fractured along caste, regional and party lines, the Sangha community has often evolved as a force at the disposal of the opportunity politics of the UNP, SLFP and JVP, the three main Sinhala parties.

As Abeysekara, who looks at the relationship between the 'Sinhala nation' and 'Sinhala Buddhism', observes, the discourse shifts attention away from the relationship between Buddhism and nationalism as an enduring phenomenon, and towards the specific and contingent ways in which such notions as 'Buddhist' and 'nation' are defined. By examining particular native debates over what can and cannot count as 'Buddhist', Abeysekara recasts Buddhist nationalism 'as a shifting configuration of discourse wherein competing interests struggle for rhetorical and political advantage' (Abeysekara 2002:30–31 and Berkwitz 2008).

Between 1950 and 2000, if the politically mobilised Sinhala Sangha agreed and acted on any single issue, it was the determined and violent opposition to the proposal to share political power with the non-Sinhala minorities, which they interpreted as the death of the two fundamental features defining Sri Lanka: Sinhala ethnicity and the Buddhism of the Sinhalese.

The Venerable Walpola Rahula by his ideology, activities and, especially, writing continued the historicised role of the Sinhala Sangha. He recontextualised and intellectualised *raṭa*, *jātiya* and *āgama*, the unitary ownership of the island, the supremacy of the Sinhala race, and the institutionalising of Sinhala Buddhism, in that order of priority.

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A Buddhist ballad from Bangladesh: the *Sambhūmitta Pālā*. An apocryphal *jātaka* from Southeast Asia to an Indian tune

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The *Sambhūmitta Pālā Kīrtan* is a Bangladeshi devotional song based on an apocryphal life story of the Buddha originating in Thailand. Its style is that of the devotional songs more commonly associated with Vaiṣṇavism. This format is so popular in Bengal that it has become part of all religious traditions. The Buddhist tradition of Bangladesh is connected to those of Southeast Asia and the style of this song reflects a regional taste rather than an historical link to Indian Buddhism.

Throughout history a variety of cultural performances have been employed in the Indian subcontinent to transmit religious knowledge.[1] One such form of performance, consisting of devotional singing, is known as *kīrtan*. The origins of this kind of song are thought to be early medieval. It has probably been influenced by diverse traditions.[2] While conducting fieldwork research into Bangladeshi Buddhism in the early 1990s,[3] I stumbled across a notebook kept in a monastery in the Chittagong region, which proclaimed itself as a Buddhist *pāla kīrtan*. This attracted my attention, because *kīrtan* are mainly associated with Vaiṣṇavism and I had never heard of a Buddhist variety. Moreover, I was working on a thesis which, in examining the history of Buddhism in East Bengal, was trying to prove that it belonged to the Southeast Asian tradition. The decidedly Hindu and Indian heritage of the *kīrtan* was completely at odds with my expectations.

[1] Slawek 1996, 57.
[2] Chakrabarty 1996, 179.
[3] Soon to be published.

JOCBS. 2011 (1): 134–196.

The term *kīrtan* derives from the Sanskrit *kīrt*, meaning to call out, to proclaim, and indeed one form of *kīrtan*, the *nāma kīrtan*, consists of the repeated invocation of a deity's name. Another form of *kīrtan*, the *līlā kīrtan*, involves the telling, in song, of an episode in the life of a deity. The *pālā kīrtan* that I had found is a form of *līlā kīrtan,* and its full title is *Sambhūmitta Pālā*.

The *Sambhūmitta Pālā* owes its title to the name of the hero of the story, King Sambhūmitta, and to the particular *genre* of this work: *pālā* in Bengali means ballad. Before proceeding with the presentation of the Bengali text in romanised version and its English translation, I shall here discuss the subject matter as well as some stylistic details of the *Sambhūmitta Pālā*.

The *Sambhūmitta Pālā* narrates the story of King Sambhūmitta, the compassionate and selfless king of the town of Campaka. Sambhūmitta, made aware of the fact that his brother, Asambhūmitta, was plotting to overthrow him, renounces his kingdom in favour of Asambhūmitta and decides to retire into the forest. His wife, Kesinī, and their two baby children, Jayasen and Jayadatta, accompany him. When in the forest, after a series of incidents, the four get separated. Kesinī is kidnapped by a merchant, while the children, thought to be abandoned, are adopted by a clan of fishermen. Sambhūmitta, grieving over the loss of his family, ends up in the city of Takṣaśila. The king of that city has just died leaving no heirs and Sambhūmitta is chosen to become the new king of Takṣaśila. A series of fortunate incidents reunite Sambhūmitta with his lost wife and children. At the end of the narrative, it is explained that Sambhūmitta and his family had to undergo the pain of their separation due to bad *karma*.

The theme of the *Sambhūmitta Pālā* is based on the *Sambhumittajātaka*. This is one of the fifty birth-stories of the Buddha collectively known as *Paññāsa-Jātaka,* or with the Burmese name of *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa*. This collection of non-canonical texts is believed to have been compiled around the fifteenth century, possibly in northern Thailand.[4] The name *Zimmè Paṇṇāsa* in fact means "Chieng Mai Fifty" in Burmese, and it is thought that the stories may have originated in that city of Northern Thailand. Three recensions of these birth-stories, all from Southeast Asia, have survived to this day.[5]

The fact that this particular birth-story of the Buddha should be very popular among Bangladeshi Buddhists, so much so that a new version has been writ-

[4] Feer 1875, 417 ff.

[5] See 'Preliminary Remarks' in Jaini 1981 vol. 1.

ten of it, titled *Sambhumitta* [sic],[6] with a different ending and added episodes, reinforces the thesis of my work on this Buddhist tradition that this should be considered part of the Southeast Asian one. This non-canonical Southeast Asian *jātaka* seems in fact to be more popular in Bangladesh than a canonical *jātaka* with a very similar theme: the *Vessantara Jātaka*, "the most famous story in the Buddhist world".[7]

The one element linking the *Sambhūmitta Pālā* to Indian culture, though not Indian Buddhist culture, is its style. I have said above that the *Sambhūmitta Pālā* is a specific type of *lilā kīrtan,* a song in praise of a god, not just invoking his name and qualities but telling his deeds. A Hindu tradition of temple singing was well established before the Muslim invasion of the subcontinent;[8] however, the *kīrtan* is closely related to the rise of *bhakti*: theistic devotion. The *kīrtan* is in fact also a love song that the follower of a god sings to express the pain experienced at being separated from the object of his devotion.

In Bengal, the *kīrtan* is linked with the rise in the sixteenth century of the Vaiṣṇava movement initiated by Caitanya (1486-1533), the leader of the Vaiṣṇava reformation, whose family was originally from the Sylhet area, in what is now Bangladesh.[9] After Caitanya became a *bhakta*, a man devoted in heart and life to the service of Kṛṣṇa, he engaged whole-heartedly in musical worship, i.e. the *kīrtan*. Caitanya also introduced the typical Vaiṣṇava way of begging for alms, inviting people to sing the name of *Hari*. Caitanya's *kīrtan* was chorus-singing to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals. Beginning in the evening, the *kīrtan* would increase in volume and emotional intensity as the hours passed: bodily movements and rhythmic clapping would become more and more intense, sometimes resulting in the excesses of hysteria. The Caitanya movement strongly influenced the Bengalis' taste for devotional songs and poetry and their large production over centuries.[10] The Bengali *kīrtan* has evolved over time, with new forms coming to life and being formalised,[11] and it is very much still part of Bengali culture, not just the Bengali Vaiṣṇava tradition.

One might think that Buddhism, based on the principle of mindfulness and the doctrine of the Middle Way, could not possibly employ a highly emotional

[6] Kabiratna Priyadarśī Mahāsthavir 1394 Bengali year.

[7] Cone and Gombrich 1977, xv.

[8] Slawek 1996, 62.

[9] For the story of the *kīrtan* in Bengal see Sānyāl 1989 and Chakrabarty 1996.

[10] Chakrabarty 1996, 188.

[11] Chakrabarty 1996, 194-195.

form of worship such as the *kīrtan*. However, the *kīrtan,* as a form of devotional singing, has gained so much popularity in Bengal that it has become part of all religious traditions, including Islam.[12] While retaining its character as a song of love and devotion, and other characteristics, such as the invocation of the name of the divinity to whom the song is dedicated, in Buddhism the *kīrtan* has lost its excesses.

Very little is known of the history of the Buddhist *pālā kīrtan*. According to those Buddhist music teachers I had the opportunity to interview in Chittagong in 1994, the *Bauddha pālā kīrtan* is a very recent invention. According to the same sources, the first *Bauddha pālā kīrtan* were composed in the nineteenth century, as a consequence of the flourishing of Buddhism following the revival of 1856. Allegedly a relatively large collection of Buddhist *pālā kīrtan* once existed in Chittagong, but were lost during the independence war of 1971. The text here presented was taken from the hand-written notebook of a singer in Raṅgunia (Chittagong District). In the opening page of the text 1953 is given as the date of its compilation. There seems to be no reason why one should doubt that the Buddhist *pālā kīrtan* is such a recent phenomenon.

One could wonder whether the Bangladeshi Buddhists' adoption of the *kīrtan* as a form of literary expression may indicate a strong link between this tradition and the Buddhist culture of the Indian subcontinent, which would be contrary to my belief that the Buddhism of this region is part of the Southeast Asian tradition. Despite the Indian style of this ballad, which only reflects a regional taste common to all religious groups, the subject matter of the song, which is taken from a Southeast Asian apocryphal birth-story of the Buddha, confirms the link between the Buddhism of Bangladesh and that of Southeast Asia.

It will be apparent from the following text that the *pālā* contains an alternation of narrative (*kathā*) and song (*jhumur*, *sure* and *dīrgha jhumur*). The sung part is divided between chorus and solo singing. In ancient times, Indian Buddhist culture produced a large number of theatrical works. This tradition has been kept alive in all Buddhist cultures,[13] despite the fact that Buddhist doctrine does not support this kind of entertainment. The representation of *jātaka*s is particularly common. The fact that the Buddhists of Bangladesh alone have chosen the *kīrtan* as a form of expression, and the fact that other religious groups of this region have

[12] Thanks to the work of Kazi Nazrul Islam (1899-1976), one of the most celebrated Bengali and Bangladeshi poets and musicians of all times.

[13] Ahmed 1995.

done the same, seems to indicate a Bengali regional taste for this form, rather than a continuity with any ancient Buddhist Indian tradition. Therefore, we can classify the *Bauddha pālā kīrtan* as a recent addition to the rich world of Buddhist performing arts in general, and to Buddhist theatre in particular.

The following text is divided into three parts. The first part, comprising sections 'a' to 'e', include, besides the title page, a standard invocation to the Buddha and an invitation to the audience to join in the worship of the Buddha. The second part, sections 1 to 31, is the story of king Sambhūmitta. These two parts form a typical *pālā kīrtan*. The third part, which can be divided into two further parts, from section I to VII and section VIII, constitutes a later addition to the main document. The first part is an exhortation to Buddhist unity in Bangladesh. This text, by two different people, of whom we know nothing but their names: Baskara(?) and Binay, is not a standard part of a *pālā kīrtan*. It is possible to date this part to after the sixth Buddhist Council of 1956, which is mentioned on page IV. The last page of the text is on the other hand an alternative wording to the end of Sambhūmitta's story. The owner of the notebook from which I have taken the *pālā kīrtan*, or one of his predecessors, may have noted this version after hearing it from another singer.

The text of the *Sambhūmitta Pālā* is here presented in its original form. No emendation has been made to the text, but so far as I could I have suggested correct forms in the footnotes. The work of transliterating the text of this *kīrtan* from the bad-quality photocopies that I had made in Bangladesh would not have been possible without the patient and knowledgable help of Dr Sanjukta Gupta. I am also grateful to Professor Joseph O'Connell for pointing out useful sources on the history and definition of *kīrtan*. All mistakes are exclusively mine.

A note on pronunciation and method of transliterating Bengali

The Bengali script, like most South Asian scripts ultimately derives from the Brāhmī script and is relatively closely related to the Devanāgarī script used by Hindi (and nowadays for printing Sanskrit). However, in the course of time the pronunciation of certain letters in Bengali has become very different from the equivalent Sanskrit.

The inherent vowel 'a' is in Bengali pronounced almost like short 'o' (as in English 'got'). The three sibilants ś, ṣ and s are generally all pronounced 'sh' in West Bengal, while in some areas of Bangladesh they are all pronounced like 's'.

'Y' is pronounced as 'y' or as 'j' depending on the position within the word. Also, while in writing Sanskrit a stop mark indicates when a consonant is not followed by the inherent vowel; this is not the case in Bengali, leaving the reader with no clue.

I have adopted in my transliteration, with few exceptions, the so-called Sanskrit method, which is the one conventionally adopted to transcribe Sanskrit into roman script. To facilitate pronunciation I have however transcribed the letter 'y' as either 'y' or 'j' depending on its pronunciation. Also, I have transcribed the nasalisation symbol known as *candrabindu* with the symbol ~, which I have placed, for technical reasons, in front of the vowel to be nasalised, not on top of it. '∂' is a retroflex consonant which in some parts of Bengal is pronounced as a fricative, a kind of 'r', and elsewhere as a stop, a kind of 'd'.

'(2)' after a word indicates that the word is to be repeated. The word '(ekhan)', which is pronounced in recitation, means that the preceding stanza is to be repeated.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used in the transliteration and translation of the *Sambhūmitta Pālā*. The abbreviated words constitute the notation for the performance of the ballad.

K *Kathā*. Narrative which is not sung.

S. *Sure*. Literally "in a melodious way". General term referring to the sung part of the ballad.

Jh. *Jhumur*. Narrative singing. Name of a particular metre already in use in Middle Bengali.

D.Jh. *Dīrgha Jhumur*. Modified, longer, form of the *jhumur* metre.

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Sambhūmitta Pālā: the Bengali text

[a]

Sambhūmitta Pālā
(Bauddha Jātaka abalambane pālā kīrttan)
lekhak
Madan Mohan Cākmā BA BL
o
Rāsmohan Baṛuyā MA
gāyak
Śrījut Bābu Śaśāṅka Bikāś Caudhurī
Grām: Ṭhegarpuni
P.O. Bhāṭīkhāin
Caṭṭagrām
26 akṭaubar 1953

[b]

Buddha bala man rasanāy - śamaner bhay rabe nā
śamaner bhay rabe nāre - śamaner bhay rabe nā
Buddha Dharmma Saṃgher nām - balare man abirām
Buddha Dharmma Saṃgha bine bhabe mukti pābe nā
Aṅgulīmālā byādh chila - Buddher nāme tare gela
antimer cirasāthī - triratnake bhūla nā
bhabasindhu taribāre - ḍāka Buddha - karṇa dhāre[14]
Buddha karṇa dhār[15] bine - bhabe mukti pābe nā
pākā ghaə pākā bāəī - ṭākā payasār jamidārī
prāṇ gele piñjar cheəe sange kichu jābe nā
ei dhan jan — niśār svapana
sakali māyār khelā
bhaja triratana — ore abodh man
bhūlo[16] nāre aman bholā

[14] Karṇadhāre (one word).
[15] Karṇadhār. (one word).
[16] Bhula.

(Jh.) (aman) bhūlo[17] nāre
madhu mākhā - Buddher nām ....
madhu mākhā - Dharmmer nām ....
madhu mākhā - Saṃgher nām ....

(Jh.) bhūla nā - bhūla nā
eman din ār pābe nā..............................
jata bala tata bhāla................................
bala bala ābār bala ....
madhu mākhā Buddher nām ....

[c]

jei mukhe kheyecha bhāi dudh ār cini
sei mukhe tule dibe jalanta āguni
kibā ga∂ kibā bā∂ī kibā sādher bau
jābār kāle pather sāthī sange nāire keu
strī putra bon bhāginā keha kāro nay
du diner miche māyā pather paricay
kumārer śarā pātil bhāṃle nā lay jorā
sonār dehakhānī kemane jābe po∂ā
pākāghar pākāba∂ī kāre diye jābe
lohār sinduker cābi kār hāte rākhibe

(Jh.) keha nay āpnār
strī putra bon bhāginā ....
jābār kāle pather sāthī ....
dudiner miche māyā ....
pākāgha∂ pākāba∂ī ....
bhāi bala bandhu bala ....
ekā ese ekā jābe ....

[d]

kothāyre kāṅgaler Buddha — ekbār dekhā dāo āmāre
sādhaner dhan cintāmaṇi — tāre nā herile prāṇ bidare
kisukhe rekecha Śrībuddha — dibā niśi biśayānale jvale jāy aṅga

[17] Bhula.

tomār premabārī bariśane — śuśital[18] kara āmāre
bhabanadīr kulkinārā nāi — akul sāgare[19] mājhe bhāsiye be∂āi
eman bāndhab nāire — dākiye jijñāsā kare

tumi satī sundar karuṇārī sāmya - he - mukta debatā mahān
tumi duḥkha baraṇ kariyā sukherī sandhān lāgiyā
janme (2) pārāmītā[20] pūrṇa karile
labhile jñāna e mukta mahān
duḥkher payadhī[21] kariyā manthan amṛterī sandhān labhechile jakhan
jīber lāgiyā diyāchile bikāiyā
biśve-karile prajñā dān - he mukta debatā mahān,
trijater[22] prāṇī k~ādila jakhan debatāgane (taba) kare nibedan
karuṇerī krandan
kariye śraban
biśve karile punaḥ abhijān (he) mukta mahān
gurabe namaḥ

[e]

bandanā

ohe Buddha karuṇāsindu dīnabandhu jagatpati
Śudhadana[23]-suta Buddha Gopākānta namastu te
janaka-Rāhula Buddha agatira gati
sāṣṭānge praṇati kari luṭāye kṣiti
prathamete bandi āmi Śrībuddher caraṇ
dvitīyate bandi Dharmma āmi narādham
tṛtīyate bandi āmi sujana saṃhati
triratna bandanā kari luṭāye kṣiti
Śrībuddher caraṇe āmi kari nibedan
dayā kari mama kaṇṭhe kara āgaman

[18] Śuśītal.
[19] Sāgarer.
[20] Pāramitā.
[21] Payodhī.
[22] Trijagater.
[23] Śuddhodana.

prathame jata bayobr̥ddha kariyā bandana
binaya bacane balī niyo sambhāṣaṇ
pitār caraṇe āmi praṇati jānāi
j~āhār oraśe janmi Buddha guṇ gāi
mātār caraṇe āmi kariye praṇām
j~āhār jaṭhare janmi gāi guṇa gān
ār o jata guru āche kariyā bandana

(Jh.) Sambhūmitta pālā āmi kariba kīrttan

(S.) Sambhūmitta pālā kathā śuna sarbbajane
pāp puṇyer bicār sabe kara mane mane
ei pālā śunle habe jñāner sañcār

[1] (K.) Prakr̥tir līlāniketane Campaka nagarī prācīnkāle ati samr̥ddhaśālī chila. Prabal[24] boidurjyamaṇi muktār samalaṅkr̥ta su-ucca gambuja biśiṣṭa saudha rāji - ei nagarer śobhā barddhan karta: prakr̥ta dhanasampade Campaka nirantar paripūrṇa chila.

(S.) dhanadhānye puṣpe bharā[25] Campaka nagare
ullāsita prajābr̥nda dibā bibhābare[26]
ahiṃsā paramadharmma rakṣe sarbbajan

(Jh.) kāhār o aniṣṭha cintā kare nā kakhana
Campaka nagare sukhe rājya kare
Sambhumitta[27] nāme rājā
putrasamajñāne parama jatane
rakṣā kare tār prajā

(Jh.) sabe sukhe chilare
ānanda hillole bhāsi ……….…………

(D. Jh.) sadā chila Campakabāsī ……..………….

(K.) Campakarāj Sambhumitter[28] Keśinī nāme ek rāṇī ebaṃ sei marumaya saṃsāre śāntir nirjhar svarūpa.

[24] Prabāl.
[25] Reference to a song by D. L. Ray.
[26] Bibhābari.
[27] Sambhūmitta.
[28] Sambhūmitter.

(S.) tāhār chila dui putra
Jayasen Jayadatta ………………………
Campaka nagar mājhe……………………

(D. Jh.) Jayasen Jayadatta - tāhār chila dui putra

[2] (K.) Asambhūmitta name tāhār ekjan kaniṣta[29] sahodar chilen. Ekdin Asambhū puṣpodyāne base bhāblen: "Jadi dādā mare jāy kiṃbā t~āhār bṛddha abasthāy t~āhār putrarāi rājsiṃhāsane base sukh saubhāgyer adhikārī habe. Āmi o[30] rājakule janma niyechi, kintu āmār ei po∂ā jībane rājatvasukh je ki tāhā kakhano ghaṭibe na. Tāi dādā hate chalebale kauśale je kona rakame rājsiṃhāsan ke∂e nite habe. Tā nā hale āmār saubhāgya śaśī ciradiner janya nairāśyer andhakāre ācchanna thākbe."

(S.) jadi dādā binā juddhe rājya nāhi-chā∂e
abaśya laiba rājya astrāghāte mere
hatyā āmi kariba go t~āhār śiśugaṇe

(Jh.) tāder hate baṃśa jena nā rahe bhūbane
raktagaṅgā prabāhiba tāder śonite
sātārī maner tṛṣṇā miṭaiba tāte

rañjita kariba
śiśurakte Campakanagar …………
raktagaṅgā prabāhiba …………….

(K.) Asambhū ei pratijñā/paṇ[31] kari gopane dhana diye pātra mitrake bhulāiyā rākhila jāte tāhārā Sambhūmittake śatru bale mane kare.

(S.) (Jh.) pakṣabhūta karila
dhanaratna diye bahu …………………
pātramitra bhulāiyā ………………...…

[3] (K.) Mahārāj Sambhūmitta ekdin ratnāsane upabiṣṭa āchen, eman samay śaśabyaste janaika amātya ese ballen: "Rājan, jatane pālita sarpa jeman bipul phanā bistār kare āpan prabhuke-daṃśan karte udyata hay, serūp āpni jāhāke parama sohāge buke dhare pālān karechen - sei ciraposita Asambhū āj Campaka rājya āpnār hāt theke ke∂e nebār mānase - āpnāke biṣanetre dekhchen.

[29] Kaniṣṭha.

[30] Āmio.

[31] These two words, which have the same meaning, are written one on top of the other.

(S.) roge kaṣṭa pete[32] jadi Asambhū kakhana
tār kaṣṭe duḥkhakliṣṭa biṣanna badana
roger ārogya hetu dibārātra bhābe
śuśruṣā karita sadā āhār nidrā cheɖe
manda buddhi adhārmmik duṣṭa durācārī

(Jh.) rājya lobhe bhule gela hena upakārī

(K.) Amātyer mukhe rājā ei kathā śune stambhita o āścarjyānvita haye ballen "Hāya! Āmār bhāi Asambhū āmār biruddhe ṣaṛajantra karche! Nā, ei rājya ta āmi ār cāi nā."

(S.) kibā prayojan rājsiṃhāsan
kāñcane rañjita bāɖī
maraṇer kāle jāba sab phele
manimuktā ṭākākāɖi

[4] (K.) "Ei asār rājyer janya sahodarer saṅge juddha kare aṅge kalaṃkakāli mekhe rājatva-karā dūrer kathā, āmi indratva-o cāi nā."

(S.) Asambhūr hāte rājya, svarṇa-siṃhāsan
binā raktapāte āmi kariba arpaṇ
sukhete kāṭuk kāl mama sahodar

(Jh.) svarṇa-siṃhāsane base - haye - rājyaśvar[33]
kāṅgāl beśe bane āmi kariba gaman
phalamūl kheye tathā - rakṣiba jīban

(Jh.) bane gaman kariba
rājya ebe parihari …………………

(D.) jāba āmi tvarā kari, rājya ebe parihari

(K.) Rājā svīya rājyer prati bītaśraddha haiyā banagaman mānase - patnī Keśinīr nikaṭ bidāy nite gaman karilen.

(S.) (D. Jh.) bidāy nibār tare rājā gela dhīre dhīre
Keśinīr śayanamandire
paṛiteche cakṣujal gaṇḍa bahi-abiral
śokasindhu uthali antare

[32] Peta.
[33] Rajyeśvar.

(Jh.) .... rānīke ḍākila
ogo priye uṭha bali
epatir ḍāk śuni ....[manuscript illegible].......... rānī

[5] (K.) Rājā takhan balilen: "Priye! Jānte pārlem rājsiṃhāsan keᴧe nebār mānase Asambhū āmār biruddhe-ṣaᴧayantra cālācche. Jei rājsiṃhāsaner janya nijer sahodar bidroh[34] niśān uᴧāte pāre, sei rājsiṃhāsan tuccha tṛṇa khaṇḍer nyāy ekṣani cheᴧe dicchi."

(S.) bidāy dāo go ohe priye, jāba āmi rājya cheᴧe
putra-jugal laye sāthe jeo tomār pitṛghare

(S.) ār nā dekhibe more
jāba āmi bohu dūre

(Jh.) jābār kāle dekhe jāi go putrgaṇe nayanbhare

(K.) Patiprāṇā satī patir mukhe akasmāt marmmāntika bākya śuniyā t~āhār hṛidaya śatadhā bidīrṇa hate lāgla takhan jantraṇāy ballen:

(Jh.) saṅge nāhi nile more
garala kheye jāba mare........................

(D. Jh.) chāyārūpī abhāgīre lao go saṅginī kare

(Jh.) cārūkanṭhe rājāmaṇi
bale takhan ei bānī ....

(D. Jh.) thāka tumi gṛhabāse, jāba āmi banabāse

[6] (K.) Rājā takhan rānīke sāntvanār sure ballen: "Priye:

(S.) bāsakāle niketane śṛgāler śabdaśune
bhaye tumi ati bhītā hao
hiṃsra-paśur garjjan[35] śuni banete bhay pābe tumi
kon prāne - bane jete cāo?

(K.) Rājār ei niṣedh bānī śune rāṇīr puṣpakamal[36] marmmasthal byathita hate lāgla. Svāmir pā duṭī jaṛāye dhare aśrupūrṇa-nayane kātarakaṇṭhe balilen: "Jībane kona bhikṣā āpnār kāche cāi ni, adya ei bhiksā cāi."

[34] Bidroher.
[35] Garjan.
[36] Puṣpakomal.

(S.) abalā satī nārīr pati alañkār
pati bine nāhi śobhe abanī mājhār
emon sādher pati tumi je āmār

(Jh.) ekākī nā jete diba baner mājhār

(K.) Rāṇīke nānārūp praboṭh diyeo rekhe jete asamartha haoyāte takhan duijane duiṭī śiśu - bokṣe dhariyā janmabhūmi - tyāger nimitta prastut hailen. Eman samaye rājā aśrupūrṇa - nayane janmabhūmike sambodhan kariyā ballen: "Ayi! Campaka - ānandadāyinī svargādapi gariyasī janmabhūmi, śiśukāl hate - tomār śyāmal bakṣe kata khelechi tomār phalmūl kheye ei deha puṣṭha karechi. Mātaḥ tomāke praṇām. Āj ciradiner janya tomār kāṅgāl chele tomāy cheɘe bahu dūre calla." Ei bale rāja rāṇī.

[7] (S.) (Jh.) dhīre dhīre jāy re
Campaka nagar parihari…………………
Projābṛnda tyāg kari………..…………

(D. Jh.) prāṇer śiśu bokṣe dhari

(S.) rājār paścāte - cale Keśī mahārāṇī

(Jh.) nayanjale bakṣa bhāse gajendra - gāminī

(K.) Tāhārā bahu - durgam giri kāntār maru atikram kare abaśeṣe - jalapūrna ek - mahāmatī nadīr kūle upanīta halen latā bitān suśobhita ekṭī ḍumur bṛkṣer tale śiśu duiṭī rekhe.

(S.) rāṇīke takhan laiye rājan
nadīte kāṭila s~ātār
niye parapāre rākhi Keśinīre
jalete nāmila ābār
(Jh.) s~ātār dila nadīr jale
rāṇīke rākhiyā tīre ………………………
putragan ānibāre ……………….………
prāṇer bā[ndhab] ānibāre ……………..…

(K.) Rājā jakhan nadīr madhyapathe ese upasthita halen eman samay duijan Kaibartta kathā bale ekkhānā naukā beye jācchila. Kaibarttader kathā sune pitā āschen mane kare Jayasen ānandita haye balla:

[**8**] (S.) śīghra kare esa pitaḥ nadī s~ātāriyā
śāntī kara āmādere bukete dhariyā
eman niśītha kāle-nadīr puline
taba pāne ceye āchi bhay lāge prāṇe

(Jh.) ohe pitaḥ esare
nite tvarā āmādere…………………

(K.) Takhan Kaibarttagan eirūp nibhṛta ban mājhe śiśur ḍāk śune cintita o āścarjyānvita hailen.

(S.) śuniyā śiśur ḍāk Kaibartta duijan
cintita bismita tārā haila takhan
bijan nadīrkūle kebā śiśu ḍāke
esa esa bābā boli ati monosukhe

(Jh.) giye tārā dekhila
kebā śiśu ḍāke sethā…………………..

(K.) Takhan Kaibarttarā Jayasen o Jayadattake nadīr tīre dekhte pela, śiśuduiṭi dekhe tāhāder antare putra-sneher bhāb uday halo. Āj duiṭi putraratna lābh karlām, ei bole:

(Jh.) ānanda hṛdaye tārā
śiśujugal niye gela ……………………...
tule nila naukā pare ……………………..
niye gela naukāy kare ………………..…

[**9**] (K.) Kaibarttader, prasthāner alpakṣaṇ parei - Sambhūmitta rājā nadī haite uṭhe putrajugal nā dekhe.

(S.) kabhu bṛkṣatale kabhu nadī jale
dauðiye tālāsa kare
kabhu murcchā jāy kabhu kare hāy
kabhu k~āde uccasvare

(Jh.) k~ādi rājā ḍākila
ohe putra esa bali ……………………
esa esa prāṇamani ……………………

(D. Jh.) nā dekhiye tomādere bakṣa mama pheṭe jāye

(K.) Putragaṇer antardhāne - rājā duḥkha pūrṇa hṛdaye:

(S.) k~ādiyā balilen rājā gada gada bhāṣe
jādumani hārālem āji hethāy ese
tāhāder laye jadi kaṅgāler bese

(Jh.) bhikṣā māgi prāṇadharī phiri deśe deśe

(S.) rahitām tabu sukhe - e bhaba mājhāre
klāntihārā śāntibharā śiśu bakṣe dhare

(Jh.) duḥkha bhule rahitām
prāṇer jādu bakṣe dhari……………………
jāduganer badan here………………………

[10] (K.) Anek anusandhān kareo jībanasarbbasva putra duiṭi nā peye rājā śok santapta-hṛdaye rāṇīr nikaṭ jābār uddeśye ābār nadīr jale s~ātār kāṭte lāglen.

(S.) punaḥ punaḥ phire cāy
jadi śiśur dekhā pāy ………………………..
(D. Jh.) prāṇe nāhi - māne hāy ………………………

(K.) Mahārāj Sambhūmitta jakhan nadīr madhyapathe ese upasthit halen takhan pañcaśata baṇik ekkhāni naukā laye bānijye jācchila. Candrāloke Keśinī soundarjer sāmrājya bistār kare prastarmayī pratimār nyāy nirabe base āche. Keśinīke dekhe - baṇikerā jijñāsā karla.

(S.) ke tumi rūpasī nārī ethā[37] ekākini
base ācha kāhār lāgi kaha go ekhani
abaśeṣe mahārānī bale nimnasvare
parapāre gechen rākhi hethāy more
bilamba nā kari tini nite - abhāgīre

(Jh.) sātārī - bipula bārī āsiben tīre

(K.) Baṇikerā eke aparke ballo: "Eman ujjval lābanyamayī ramanī mūrtti āmāder carmma cakṣe ār kakhano dekhinī. Jena sarater pūrṇa śaśī bhūtale patita hayeche." Jyaiṣṭa baṇik rāṇīke ballo: "Ogo rānī, tumi naukāy uṭhe paṛo. Ekhan āmi [11] tomāke niye jāba." Baṇiker kathā śune basanter samīraṇe mṛdu kampitā mādhabī latikār nyāy rānīr dehalatikā k~āpite lagila.

(S.) Kesinī takhan kariye rodan
kahila binay dhīre

[37] Colloquial form of *hetā*.

āmi abhāginī janmaduḥkhinī
nionā bali go more

pati jadi hethā āsi nāhi here more
śokete ākul habe k~ādi - uccaiḥsvare.
ekhano chāre ni dugdha āche eko chele

(Jh) ke khāoyābe[38] kṣīr nanī tumi more nile.

(K.) Rāṇī takhan kātarkaṇṭhe baṇikke balilen:

(D. Jh.) duther śiśu karte rakṣā - cāhitechi ei bhikṣā
chāra more tumi kṛpādāne
tāder bihane āmi tabe haba pāgalinī
putraśoke jvali rātridine

(K.) Rāṇī eirūp anek kākuti minati karā sattveo duṣmati[39] baṇik t~ār kathāy kaṇapāt nā karīyā t~āhāke balapūrbbak naukāy tule naukā cheᘓe dilen. Naukāy,

(S.) patiputra śoke rāṇī pāgalinī prāy
kabhu uṭhe kabhu base dhare rākhā dāy
āṣāḍh śrābane jena barṣe jaladhar

(D.) tatodhik aśrujal bahe dharadhar

[12] (K.) Patiputra śoke pāgalinīprāy:

(D. Jh.) k~āde rāṇī uccaiḥsvare karāghāt kare śire
patiputra kothā bole bole
niṣṭhur baṇikgaṇe tule more jalajāne
niye jāy ati kautuhale
phāṭiyā jāiteche buk nā dekhiye putramukh
prāṇapati nā dekhiye ār
patiputra nāhi dekhā kapāle ki chila lekhā
janma kire k~ādite āmār

[38] Emended. The author of the manuscript has tried to correct a misspelling. The result is not clear.

[39] Durmati.

(Jh.) dugdha kebā dibe go
Jayadattake snehabhare……………………
candrer mata badan bhare…………………
mā baliye ḍākbe kāre……………..………

(D. Jh.) mā baliye ḍākbe kāre, dugdha kebā dibe go ……

(K.) Baṇikgan Keśinīke niye jābār alpakṣan pare Sambhūrāj jal hate uṭhe rānīke je bṛkṣer tale rekhegiyechilen, sei bṛkṣer tale giye dekhlen rānī nei. Samudra kalloler mata rājār śokocchās uṭhilo takhan uccaiḥsvare ballen: "Priye! Emon bipader samay tumi-o āmār hṛdaye nidārun śokaśalākā biddha kare cale gele."

[13] (S.) ḍāke rājā karuṇsvare ohe priye bali
kothāy gele tvarā kare esa ethā bali
sāḍā śabda mahārāṇīr kichu nā pāila

(Jh.) cakṣujale bakṣabhāse k~adiyā uṭhila
eke to śiśur soke hayechi kātar
tomāy hetha nā heriyā k~apiche antar
(Jh.) esa esa prāṇapriye
kothā[40] gele tvarā kare…………..………..
śānti kara abhāgāre………………………
(K.) Rājā rāṇīr śoke muhyamān haye - nad-nadī-bṛkṣa jāhā sāmne dekhitechen, tāhākei sambodhan kariyā balitechen.
(S.) karuṇa rodane bale sambodhane
giri nadī śākhā śākhī
ākāś paban deba rakṣagan
tarulatā paśu pākhī
kon pathe gele pāba dārā chele
bala more kṛpā kare
tāder bihane rahiba kemane
jāba āmi prāṇe mare

(S.) kothāy jāba ki kariba bhebe nāhi pāi

(D. Jh.) kothāy giye śoke paꝺā[41] ei aṅge[42] juꝺāi

[40] Kothāy.
[41] Poꝺā.
[42] Aṅga.

[14] (K.) Rājā śoker bhār hṛdaye dhāraṇ karte nā pere mṛtyuke ḍākte lāglen: "Ohe mṛtyu, tumi kothāy? Āmāke grās-karo, ohe - rabi śaśī-bajramālā, tomār[43] kakṣacyuta haye."

(S.) dhvaṃsa kara - abhāgāre
binaye kātare bali……………………

(D. Jh.) duḥkha ār sahite nāri ……………..…

(S.) śokete pāgal haye Sāmbhūmitta hāy
bajrāhata mṛgasama edikete dhāy
nagar prāntar bahu ghuri abaśeṣe
upanīta halen tini Takṣaśilā deśe

(Jh.) upanīta halare
klānta dehe anāhāre…………………
(D.) nagar prāntar ghuri rājan……………

(K.) Rājā Takṣaśilār ek puṣpodyāne prabeś kare āpādamastak kāpaə diye ek khānā śilār upar nidrā gelen. Sei samay Takṣaśilār rājār mṛtyu haoyāte rājsiṃhāsan śūnya chila, kāran tāhār santān santati keha chila nā. Amātyabarga rājsiṃhāsan śūnya thākā ucita nahe bibecanā kare puṣparath cheəe dilen.

[15] (S.) dhīre dhīre cale rath atimanohar
ihār paścāte cale śata śata nar
dundhubhī nināde nṛtya kare nācoyālī
gāyak gāyikā gāy diye karatāli.

(Jh.) huludhvani kara go
meyegane madhursvare………………….

(S.) Sambhūmitta je udyāne nidrā jāitechila
puṣparatha se udyāne prabeś karilo

(Jh.) pradakṣin karila tāre
saptambār puṣparatha ……………………

(S.) purohita takhan ulṭāye basan
dekhila caranatal

[43] Tomra.

(Jh.) rājcihṇa dekhila
Śambhūrājā[44] kopāle[45] …………………

(K.) Purohita takhan sakalke ballen: "Śilāy nidrita ei byakti-i Takṣaśilar rājā habār upajukta calun ei udyāne tāke āj rājpade abhiṣikta kari." Takhan sakale utphulla hṛdaye Sambhūrājke ḍākte lāglen.

[**16**] (S.) (Jh.) ohe prabhu uṭha re
nidrā tyaji-rathopare ……………………

(D. Jh.) ……………………………………………

(K.) Śambhūrāj[46] nidrā ate uṭhe jijñāsā karilen: "Āpnārā ḍākchen kena?" Takhan sakale balilen:

(S.) rājā tomāy kariba
Takṣaśilār rājyamājhe …………………

(D. Jh.) ……………………………………………

(K.) Takhan Sambhūrāj atikaṣte śokabhāb gopan kare madhur kaṇṭhe - balilen: "Āpnārā ei pather kāṅgālke kenai bā rājpade baraṇ karben? Ei rājyer ki kona rājā nei?" Takhan prajāpunja balilen:

(S.) chila ek narapati - sarbbaguṇajuta
sohāge rakṣita tini chila prajājata
maraṇa kabale tini giyechen go cale

(D. Jh.) ei saṃsāre keha - nāi tār patnīkanyāchele

(S.) sei kārane milimiśi morā sarbbajan
rājabaraṇ tomāy mora kariba ekan

(Jh.) uṭha prabhu rathopare
bilambe ār kārjya nāire ……………………

[**17**] (K.) Śāmbhūrāj[47] prajāpuñjer kākuti-minati upekṣā karite nā pāriyā abaśeṣe puṣparathe uṭhe basilen.

[44] Sambūrājā.
[45] Padatale.
[46] Sambūrāj.
[47] Sambūrāj.

(S.) dhīre dhīre cale rath
Sambhūrājke bakṣe laye……………………
jayadhvani karago
jubābṛddha sabe mile ……………………
nārīgaṇe sabe mile huludhvani karago

(K.) Mahārāj Śambhūmitta[48] Takṣaśilār rājsiṃhāsan lābh kare sucārurūpe rājya śāsan karite lāgilen. Jakhan prāṇādhik putraganer kathā mane paṛe, takhan śata-sahasra-bṛścik jena tār bakṣe daṃśan kare. Tībra jvālā sajhya karte nā pāriā tini gada gada svare balten:

(S.) putradhan bine rājya ~ādhār rajanī
biphal suramyabāṛī hirā[49] muktāmani …[manuscript illegible]

(D. Jh.) parer chele kole nile maner āgun dvigunajvale
eki daśā hala mora bhubane
dārā putra nāhi dekhā - kapāle ki chila lekhā
maner āgun nibāba[50] kemane

(K.) Bhoḥ śrotāmaṇḍalī ekhāne Sambhūmitter kathā rekhe Kaibarttader ghare Jayasen o Jayadatta ki prakāre āche calun ekbār darśan kare āsi.

[**18**] (S.) Kaibartterā rakṣe śiśu parama jatane
śuklapakṣer c~āder mata bā∂e dine dine

(Jh.) bā∂ite lāgila
Kaibarttader ghare śiśu …………
bimal sundar sthāne cāy thākibāre
ābilatā aramyatā paṅka ghṛṇā kare

(Jh.) Kaibartterā cintā kare
śiśugaṇer svabhāb here ……………………

(K.) Takhan Kaibartterā bālakajugal Takṣaśilar rājāke upahār dilen.

(S.) putrajñāne pālen rājā balak duijan
pitā putrer paricaya nā hala ekhan

(K.) Jyaisṭha baṇik – rāṇīke niye t~āhār sahit nānārūp bākya jāl bistār kare bibāher prastāb karlo, takhan rānī ghṛṇā o lajjāy lajjābatīlatikār nyāy adhomukhī haye. Sei

[48] Sambhūmitta.
[49] Hīra.
[50] Nibhāba.

aprītikar - prastāb pratyākhyān karilen. Takhan baṇik t~āhāke nānārūp pralobhan o bhay dekhāila. Rāṇī ihāte o bicalita nā hoye balilen:

(Daśakuśī)
(S.) svāmirūpe pūrbbejāre barāṇiya ei saṃsāre
debajñāne karechi pūjan
nirāśer āśātaru chila mor paramaguru
tini bine āndhār bhuban

[**19**] (S.) satītvadhan bikray kari ei anāthinī
kabhu nāhi haba tomār aṅga bilāsinī
more badha kara jadi astra aṅgemārī

(D. Jh.) svāmi pade baraṇ tabu karite nā pāri

(K.) Baṇik byartha manorath hayeo tathāpi bideśe bānijya karaṇopalakṣye jābār kāle kām pipāsā caritārtha karte pārbe bale rāṇīkeo niye jeta. Jakhan se kām kaluṣita hṛdaye rāṇīke sparśa karite udyata hay, takhan rāṇī śīlānusmṛti-bhāvanā o buddher guṇ śaraṇa kare ei baliten:

(S.) ohe Buddha dīnabandu uddhār kara abhāgīre
bipade paꝺechi āmi ḍāki tomāy bāre (2)
abalāganer bal
tomārī caraṇatal
tumi bīne keha nāire abhāginīr ei saṃsāre
Buddhake ḍākito jabe rāṇī karuṇsvare
duṣṭa baṇik rāṇīr aṅga dharite nā pārere

(Jh.) jvalanta āguner mata
rāṇīr aṅga tapta takhan ....
cinte baṇik mane mane
ei keman adbhutā nārī ....

(D. Jh.) bujhte āmi nāi pāri, ei kemon adbhuta[51]

[**20**] (K.) Ekdin baṇik Takṣaśilār rājghāṭe naukā b~edhe rāṇīke naukāte rekhe katak manoram sāmagṛī laye Sambhūrājke upahār dilen. Takhan rājā baṇikke ballen: “Baṇik mahāśay adyarātri eikhāne nāṭyābhinay habe. Tāhā dekhe jāben.” Takhan baṇik sasambhrame ballen: “Mahārāj naukāte āmār strīke rekhe esechi.”

[51] Adbhutā.

(S.) hethā jadi thāki āmi ke rakṣibe tāre
se kāraṇe thākte nāri kṣama prabhu more
narapati Sambhumitta[52] Jayasen Jayadatta
nadīr kūle dila pāṭhāiye
pāṭhāiye dila re
bālak duijan nadīr kule ....

(S.) henakāle Jayadatta kare jijñāsan
bala dādā kṛpā kare pūrbba bibaraṇ
kebā mātā kebā pitā moder ei saṃsāre
ki prakāre elem morā Kaibartter ghare

(Jh.) bala dādā dayā kare
mātā pitā kebā moder ....

(D.) kothāy moder janmabhūmi prakāśiye bala tumi

[**21**] (K.) Ai dike naukār modhye putraśokabihvalā rāṇī Jayadatter ei marmmasparśī bāṇī śrabaṇ kare tār hṛdayvīṇār pratyek tār jhaṇkār diye uṭhla. Tini bhāblen: "Eta rātre nadīr upakūle bālak duijan eirūp balābali karechen kena? Tārā o ki āmār putra Jayasen o Jayadatter mata hatabhāgā haye janmagrahan karechen. Dekhī tārā ār o ki bale."

(S.) (D. Jh.) naukāte d~ā∂iye rāṇī śune bālaker bānī
kān pātiye ati sābdhane
Jayasen balen takhan ogo bhaire kara śraban
duḥkher āgun uṭhila mor prāṇe

(S.) janminu rājkule morā rājār chele
mātā pitā abhāgārā hārāi nadīr kūle

(Jh.) tumi ati śiśu chile

(D. Jh.) balitechi ekhan bhāire ....

(S.) Campaka nagarī moder śuna janmabhūmi
Sambhūmitta pitā moder - Keśinī jananī

[**22**] (K) Jayasen o Jayadatter kathā śune rāṇī bujhte pārlen. Sei bālak duṭi ār keha nay, tāhāri putra Jayasen o Jayadatta.

[52] Sambhūmitta.

Manihārā phaninī jena punaḥ maṇi prāptite dhairjycyūta[53] ghaṭe seirūp rāṇī hārānu[54] nidhi putragan peye ār sthir thākte pārlen nā. Unmādinir mata naukā hate uṭhe: "Hāy putra Jayasen, hāy putra Jayadatta, āmi toder kāṅgālinī mā esechi."

(S.) śokete ākul hoye k~ādi uccai svare
bālak duijan ja∂āye dhare bakṣopare

(Jh.) k~āde rāṇī ghana ghana
bakṣe dhari jādugan ....
pāiyā putra dhana ....

(D. Jh.) Keśinīr kathā śune bujhila bālakgane
moder mātā ei abhāginī
mā, mā, bali karuṇasvare k~āde rāṇīr caraṇ dhare
śokasindu uthale takhani

(Jh.) omā, omā, mā [manuscript illegible]
bakṣe dhara āmādere ....
aṅga moder abaś hala...................
kothā chile etadin ....

(D. Jh.) jādugan bakṣe dhare k~āde rāṇī uccaisvare

[23] (K.) Rāṇī prāṇer dulāl duṭi bakṣe ja∂āye dhare ajasra dhārāy k~ādchen. Takhan ekjan lok ei byāpār dekhe baṇiker nikaṭ giye balla. Takhan ghṛtasikta analer nyāy baṇiker rāg prajjvalita haye uṭhla. Se rājsamīpe giye ballen: "Rājan! Āpni je praharī pāṭhāiyāchen, jānte pārlum tāhārā atyācār kareche." Baṇiker mukhe rājā ei kathā śunibāmātra - kroḍhānvita siṃher nyāy garjjan kare ghātakke ḍeke ballen: "Ohe ghātak. Śīghra nadīr kūlhate balak duṭī maśāne niye badh karo. Jena tāder pāpbadan ār dekhte nā pāi." Takhan ghātak rājār ādeś peye:

(S.) hāte asi cakṣulāl dau∂e hethā jāi
dante kare kharamara jamadūt prāy
niṣṭhur ghātak takhan tīkṣṇa raśi diyā
bālakere bāḍhe tvarā kaṣiyā kaṣiyā
bandan sthān hote rakta pa∂te[55] lagla

[53] Dhairjycyuti.

[54] Hārāno.

[55] Pa∂ite.

jantranā - sāhīte nārī[56] k~āddiyā kahila
sāhite nārī[57] go
eman jantranā māgo ………………
rakta paᴕe dara dara ……………..

(D. Jh.) bala ghātak tvarā kare bādhle kena āmādere

[24] (K.) Pāṣān hṛday ghātak bālak jugaler kathā śune bahu tarjjan garjjan kare ballo: "Kena b~edheci ei kīl, ei lāthi, ei capeṭāghāti tār uttar debe." Ei bale bālakder sahyaśaktir atīt kīl lāthite tāhāder aṅga jarjarita kare maśāne niye calla. Eman samay hṛday bhedī karuṇ bilāpe diganta mukharita kare tārā balle:

(S.) aṅga moder abaś halo cale nā caraṇ
abhāginī māke phele śvaśāne[58] kari gaman
āmāder hay hārā habe jena jñānahārā
nayanete bahibe dhārā bakṣa pheṭe jāy (ekhan)

(Jh.) calilām, calalām
anāthinī māke pheli ……………..……..…
maśānete janmer tare ……………………
putraganer duḥkha dekhe
k~ade rāṇī mahāśoke …………………………
āmār maraṇ kena hala nāre
ei duḥkha nā dekhite ……………………………
putraśokī haoyār āge ……………………………
eki chila mor kapāle
dahite hāy śokānale ……………………..

[25] (S.) luṭāye paᴕila bhūme putra putra bali
mahājhaᴕe paᴕe jena dharāte kadalī

(Jh.) gaᴕāgaᴕi diye k~āde
karāghāta kari buke ………………………
ālu thālu beśe rāṇī ……………..…………

(K.) Janaika paṇḍit pather madhye bālak jugaler kāhinī śune byathita hṛdaye rājār nikaṭ ese ballen: "Rājan! Āpni adya je bālak bhṛtya - duijaner prāṇadaṇḍer ādeś

[56] Nāri.
[57] As above.
[58] Śmaśāne.

diyechen tāhārā prakṛta doṣī kinā bicār kare dekhā āpnār ekānta ucit chila. Rājan bicār nā kare doṣī sābyāsta karā ihā rājadharma nahe."

(S.) rājyer rājā jadi kabhu svecchācārī hale
rājyabāsi jvale mare rājār pāpānale

(Jh.) rājār amaṅgala sumaṅgla jata
ghaṭe rājyer nṛper guṇe ……………………………
rājār /nṛper[59] gune prajāgan, duḥkhī sukhī sarbbakṣaṇ

[26] (K.) Paṇḍiter ei sunīti pūrṇa-bānī śune rājā ballen: "Paṇḍita mahāśay pūrṇendur amal dhabala jyotśnāy andhakār rajanī jeman ālokita hoye uṭhe, seirūp āpnār jukti pūrṇa-bānī śune āmi je tāhāder bicār nā kare mahābhul kare phelechi, tāhā bujhte pārlem." Takhan rājā ek dūtke ḍeke ballen: "Ohe dūt śīghra śmaśāne giye bālak duṭī niye esa." Ghātak asahāy mṛga śisur nyāy ei bālakduṭī dharāśāyī kare niṣkāṣita asi uttolan pūrbbak tāhādigake badh karite udyata haiyāche, dūt badhya sthāner kichu dūr hate ei dṛśya dekhe ākul kaṇṭhe bale uṭhla,

(S.) rākho rākho ohe ghātak
kāṭa nā go ebe bālak ………………………

ādeś more kareche
nite tāder rājasthāne ………………………

(D. Jh.) uddhār kare bālakgane nila tvarā rājasthāne
nṛpati takhan kare jijñāsan
mṛdu bhāṣe tāhādere
kaha bhṛtyagan sab bibaraṇ
prakāśiye tvarā more

[27] (Jh.) kibā kārjya karecha
baṇiker patnīsane …………………
niśītha rajanī joge ……………….

(D.) bhay lajjā tyāg kare prakāśiye balore

(D. Jh.) nṛpatir kathā śune kahila bālakgane
ati duḥkhe kariye rodan
baṇiker patnī nahe tini moder mātā hay
ohe rājan kara śrabaṇ

[59] The two words are given as alternatives.

(Jh.) śuna rājan moder bāṇī
tini moder hay jananī ……………………….

(D.) dekhlem mātā abhāgārā bali tomāya iha tvarā

(K.) Bālakder ei kathā śune rājā āścarjyānvita haye ballen: "Priya bālakgan tomrā Kaibartter chele haye baṇiker patnīke "mā" bale paricay diccha kena?" Takhan bālakgan balla raktākta dui hasta añjalī baddha kare kātar kaṇṭhe ballo:

(S.) Kaibartta nay moder pitā karaha śrabaṇ
prakāśiye kaba tomāy moder bibaraṇ
janminu rājjakule morā rājār chele

(Jh.) mātā pitā abhāgārā hārāi nadīr kule

[**28**] (S.) Sambhūmitta pitā moder Keśiṇī janaṇī
mātṛbhūmi Campakanagar sampadaśālinī

(Jh.) śuna śuna ohe rājan
āche mātā naukāpare ……………………

(D.) duḥkhinī janaṇī moder āche rājan naukāpare

(K.) Jayasen o Jayadatter kathā śune rājā bujhlen, ei bālak duiṭi ār keu, nay, t~āhār sneher dulāl Jayasen o Jayadatta. Takhan t~āhār badanamaṇḍal apūrbba ānande haṭāt meghamukta ākāśer nyāy ujjval haye uṭhla. Takhan tini svarṇāsan hate uṭhe ballen: "Batsagan! Āmi tomāder abhāgā pitā Sambhūmitta" ei bale.

(S.) ja∂āye dharila rājā tvarā tāhādere
kṣaṇe kṣaṇe buke dhare mukhe mukha kare

(Jh.) ānandāśrū bahila
gaṇḍa bhese dara dare ………………
nayan jugale rājār ……………………...

(D.) kibā sukh, svarga sukh - ei saṃsāre putra mukh

(S.) bālake takhan kariye rodan
kahila kātara svare
janam duḥkhiṇī moder janaṇī
āche pitaḥ naukāpare

[**29**] (K) Pitaḥ baner hariṇī jeman byādher jāle baddha haye byādher hāte bahu lāñchanā bhog kare, tādṛśa āmāder mātāke baṇik lauhaśṛṅkhaler dvārā naukāy b~edhe rekhe t~āhāke asahanīye jantraṇā dicche.

(Jh.) ohe pitaḥ bali-re
tomār caraṇtale ....

(D.) cala pitaḥ nadīr tīre, moder māke ānibāre

(K.) Mahārāj Sambhūmitta putraganer mukhe prāṇapriyār kathā śune āhlāde unmattva[60] haye nadīr tīre giye baṇikke ballen: "Ohe bhai baṇik! Tomar naukar upar je nārīṭā āche, se āmār sahadharmminī. Ekdin gabhīr rātre daibadurbipāke paꝺe t~āhāke ek nadīr kūle hārāye phelechilam, bhāi kṛpā kare āmār jīban saṅginīke phirāye dāo." Rājār eirūp kathā śune baṇik balla: "Phirāye dicchi Mahārāj, t~āhāke niye jān." Takhan,

(S.) rājā uṭhi naukāpare Keśinīr nām dhare

(D. Jh.) ḍāke tini ati karuṇasvare
prāṇapatir kathā śuni rāṇī haye pāgalinī
k~ādiye uṭhila uccaiḥsvare

(Jh.) mūrcchāgata hala rāṇī
rājār caraṇe paꝺe ....

(D.) etadine pati dekhi, mūrcchāgata hala rāṇī

[30] (S.) caitanya labhila jabe satīkulamaṇi
param sohāge tuli kahe naramaṇi

(Jh.) ohe priye k~eda nā
cale[61] ebe rājpure ....
putragan tomār kāche ....

(D.) calo ebe rājpure, putragan laye sāthe

(S.) patnīputra laye rājā gela rājpure
bājila maṅgalabādya ati miṣṭasvare
rājā Sambhūmitta ānande pramatta
ānandita naranārī
ānanda bājar basila ebār
Takṣaśilā rājapurī

(Jh.) ānander bājar basila
Takṣaśilā rājyer mājhe ....

[60] Unmatta.
[61] Calo.

rājā rāṇīr milan hala ....
mātā-putrer milan hala ....

(D. Jh.) mātā putrer milana hala, ānander bājār basila

(K.) Jātake ukta hayeche - pūrba janme-o Jayasen o Jayadatta Sambhūmitta rājār strī rāṇī Keśinīr putrarūpe janmagrahaṇ kariyāchilen. Sei janme rāṇīr ekānta anurodhe rājā Sambhūmitta putradvayer krīðār-janya bṛkṣāgra hate duiṭi pakṣī-śābak (sāðī pakṣīr chānā) nāmāye diyāchilen. Śuk o sāðī bāsāya phire [31] śābaka-dvayer adarśane bicched jantraṇāy abhibhūta hayechila. Krīðā śeṣ hale rājā Sambhūmitta - śābakadvayke ābār jathāsthāne rekhe esechilen. Śābakadvay phire peye śuka sāðī biśeṣ pulakita hala. Śābakadvay haraṇ kare śuk sāðīke asahya bicched jantraṇāy rekhe punaḥ phirāye deoyāy rājā Sambhūmitta - ihajanme pūrbbajanmer duṣkarmmer janya svīya putradvay o rāṇīke hārāye aśeṣ bicched jātanā bhog karataḥ punaḥ tāhādigake - phire peyechilen.

(S.) je jeman karmma-kare e bhabasaṃsāre
teman karmmer phal nite habe śire
Sambhūmitta pālā ebe hala samāpan

(Jh.) premānande Buddha bala ohe sādhugan

samāpta

bala Buddha bala - bala jay-jay bala sabe
premānande bāhu tule
nirānanda dūre jābe

[1] torā ciniyā neyare[62] svajāti bandhugan
(āmār) Buddha Dharmma Saṃgha dhane (2)
ahiṃsār mantra diye jīb tvarāte,[63] e dharāte uday halo trirataner
kālpanik pūjā chāðī, arahater pūjā kari
bhaba sindhu pāði dite ai dayāl bine,
hiṃsā nindā dalādali cheðe kara kolākoli[64]
juger hāoyā gāye tuli aikya bandhane
ābhijātya jed chāra, nikāya gaurab tyāgkara

[62] Neore.
[63] Tarāte.
[64] Kolākuli.

maitrī bhābanā kara ekāgra mane
dui saptamī ek masete amābasyā pūnimāte[65]
mantra niya ekjogete antima sādhane
gṛhi jārā pañcasīle - sakāle ār baikāle
nā hay jīban jābe biphale ta∂ibi kemane
sarbba dik mangala habe - jāti dharmmer gaurab bā∂be
dīn Bhāṣkarer ei prārthanā jātir caraṇe

[II] din kāṭāilām tomāre bhābiyā bhabe
....
dharmmare dibā halo - abasān - ~ādhār dekhe- kā~pe[66] prāṇ
jam kokilā uṭhila ḍākiyā
āśāy (2) railām basi, dekhā-dibe ekdin āsi
āj kāl kare din gela caliyāre (2)
(dharmmare) jñāti bandhur manda-balā- aisab karlām galār mālā
kebal tomāy pāiba baliyā
jadi tumi dekhā-dibe dayāl bale jānbe sabe
ḍankā bājuk duniyā ju∂iyāre (2)
(dharmmare) ahiṃsā parama dharmma saba dharmmer sāra marmma
jībagan jāy uddhār haiyā
Bhāṣkare kay cintāki ār tumi jār karṇadhār
sāhas āche se iśārā pāiyāre (2)

[III] morā dhvaṅśa halem maitrīr bihane re bandhu
husiyār Bauddha janagane
(bandhugan) jāder netṛtve cali tārā kare dalādali
marme mari paraspar śune
nānā bahi istāhāre jāti kutsā pracār kare
ei bhābe pragati ki ānere bandhu
(bandhugan) Bauddha dharmme janma niyā abauddher nīti laiyā
svārthāndhe-phiri jane (2),
muṣṭimeya Bauddha jāti, nā bujhi pragatir rīti
dhamśa kare nānā pratisthānere bandhu
(bandhugan) saṃjoga rākhi paraspāre, mete uṭhe[67] aikyer sure
rakṣā nāhi ei kalpanā bine

[65] Pūrṇimāte.
[66] K~āpe
[67] Uṭho.

hiṃsā nindā kara tyāg juger hāoyā gāye mākha
maitrī bābanā[68] rākha aikya bandhane ....
(bandhugan) kul, nikāy jed chāɗa, svadharmer unnati kara
śunen Bauddha jana sādhārane
dīn bhāṣkarer ei prārthanā jene śune cup theko nā
lāgche āgun moder gharer kone
[IV] bhaja Buddha deb, kaha Buddha deb, laha Buddha debe[69] nāmre
biṣay bāsanā- chāɗi mahā[70] nidrā parihari
seijan nirbbān kārī
bājāo midaṅga[71] ḍol[72] premānande Buddha bala
ānande Buddha guṇ gāore
dutiyaṃpi tatiyaṃpi – svaran[73] kara punar bari[74]
bhabanadīr o pārete cala
śākya kulamaṇi – dibasa rajanī
bhramarā[75] Buddha – guṇ gāore
Buddha nāmrase – sei[76] jan bhāṣe
sei jan nirbbān pāyare

jāgare jāgare baṅgīya Bauddha - kenare rayecha ghumāye (2)
jegeche cīn, siṃhala jāpān - jegeche tibbat nepāl bhūṭan,
bārmmā śyām haye - āguyān - ṣaṣṭha saṅgīte[77] mātiyā (2)
svārddha[78] dvi sahasra barṣa samaye - Bauddha dharma uṭhibe udiye
ahiṃsār mantre pṛthibī - juɗiye - uṭhibe pūrṇa - jāgiyā (2)
mahāmānaber bānī āgata prāye - ātma kalahe - (morā) kenare hāy,

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[68] Bhābanā.
[69] Deber.
[70] Moha.
[71] Mṛdaṅga.
[72] Ḍhol.
[73] Smaran.
[74] Bāri.
[75] Conventional religious literary motif, which was already present in Kālidāsa's *kāvya*. The mind sucks the nectar of the Buddha's name, as the bee sucks the nectar of flowers. Ecstatic enjoyment = *rasa āsvāda* (Sk.) tasting the (sweet) flavour. From the 18th c. onwards this is a typical Bengali motif in the worship of Kāli and Krishna.
[76] Jei.
[77] Saṅgītite.
[78] Sārddha.

svamāj[79] dainandin hacche mṛtaprāy, svārthāndher mohe majiyā
hiṃsā – dveṣ dvaita kālimā muchiye, jata dalādali jāore bhūliye
abheda dolāte duliye (2) ahiṃsār patākā laiyā … (2)
dīn Bhāṣkārer ei nibedan, maitrī bhābanāya rata kara mana,
aikyer surete kari kolākuli - daore prāṇ s~apiyā … (2)

[V] Buddha bala Dharmma bala - man ekbār Saṅga bala
Buddha Buddha - Buddha bole bhabanadīr pāre cala, (2)
bhabasindu taribāre - ∂āka Buddha[80] karṇadhāre
Buddha je kṣudhāri anna - Buddha je tṛṣṇār jal
jale Buddha - sthale Buddha - candre Buddha - surje[81] Buddha
anale anile Buddha - Buddha namare bhūmaṇḍala

ār bandhu nāire
ei kebal Buddha bine ………………
ei kebal Dharmma bine……………
ei kebal Saṃgha bine………………

(Jh.) jege uṭha Bauddha jubak svamāj jācche chāre khāre … (2)
tathāgater gaurab tarī ḍubibeki ghor ~ādhāre … (ai)
ābhijātya mo∂al jata, calche nāre rītimata
abidyāya haye mohit lāṭhi ghurāy ghare ghare … (ai)
dhvaṃśa hay jāti Dharmma, bujhiye dāo sār marmma
svārthak kara svīyajanma - svadharmmayī[82] rākha ghere[83] … (ai)
śīkṣita nāyak jārā - dalādalite ātmahārā
jñāne[84] tāder hṛday bharā svārthāndhe svamāj dhvaṃsa kare
baṅgīya Bauddha chātrer prati, dīn Bhāṣkarer ei minati
ahiṃsā maitrī ki pragati bujhiye dāo tāder tare

[VI] man tui sādhan bhajan karli nā
(Jh.) - sādhaner dhan cintāmaṇi tāre cinte pārli nā
dhara man kathā dhara Śrībuddher smaraṇ kara (hāy hāy re)
Buddha Dharmma Saṃgha balle, pāper bhay ār rabe nā re (man)

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[79] Samāj.
[80] Corrected by the author, who had originally written: Buddha bala.
[81] Sūrje.
[82] Svadharmmaī.
[83] Ghire.
[84] Ajñane.

janma jvarā[85] bhaba byādhi rabe nā
guru guru guru bala ai mantra tomāy kebādila (hāy hāy re)
ðākār matan ðākle tāre - dekhā pābe hṛdantare (re man)
āsalete ðākār matan ðākte jāna nā
kothāy ghar kothāy bāðī kothay kara basatgiri (hāy hāy re)
Sāriputra Mudgalāyan chila tārā prabhur śiṣya haila
tumi kon jugete kon śiṣya kule bala nā
(Jh.) prāni hatyā curi ār o jejan karibe
babicārer[86] phal jīb niraye jāibe
mithyā kathā surāpān jejan baribe[87]
dine-dine bhāgya lakṣī[88] tāhāre chāðibe
śīlete sadgati hay svajan prakāśe
sādhu saṅge raṅga kara esa sādhu bhāṣe
sādhu saṅge kara prīti bhakti māthā noyāiyā
bhakti latā diye tāre caran dhara jarāiyā

[VII] nadīr bhāb nā bujhe (man) se nadīte jhāp dio nā
nadīr akul pāt[h]ār- dio nā s~ātār
jhāp- dile se kul pābe nā
giyechilem nadīr kule - katajan āchego bhule
nadīr ḍheu dekhe mare
dayāl guru Śri Gautam āchen para pāðe
(o man) - bhakti haile jete pāre paysār darkār kare nā
Buddha Dharmma Saṃgha bala triratner nām svaran[89]kara
tabe jete pārbe man
dhārmmikerā jete pāre nadīr para pare
pāpīrā jete pāre nā - hāṅgar kūmbhīr chāðe nā
tomar dehatarī sojā kara man mājhīre tālās kara
tabe jete pārbe man
aṣṭa śil pañca śil nāo he tāri smaraṇ
mukhe mettākaruṇādi nitya kara bhābanā
tomār deha tarīr chay jan dārī tārā sadāy[90] kare chal cāturī

[85] Jaðā, meaning old age.
[86] Byabhicārer.
[87] Karibe.
[88] Lakṣmī.
[89] Smaraṇ.
[90] Sadāi.

bebaś[91] kena ore abodh man
dīn hīn binay kahe dhara gurur caraṇ
guru bine bhaba sāgarer pāre jete pāre nā
[VIII][92] Sambhūmitta pitā moder Keśinī jananī
prakāśiyā bale dilam suna rājmaṇi
(Campak nagar chila moder janmabhūmi)
janmabhūmi chila moder Campak nagar
karmma doṣe halem morā nagar bāhir

Sambhūmitta pitā moder
Keśinī moder jananī ....
prakaśiyā bale dilām ....

ohe Buddha dīnabandhu - uddhār kara abhāgāre
bipade paꝺechi āmi - ḍāki tomāy bāre bāre
anāthganer bal
tomārī caraṇ tal
tumi bine keha naire - anāthganer ei saṃsāre
Buddhake ḍākibe[93] jabe anātha karuṇ svare
dayā kare ekbār more - dekhā diye jāo āmāre uddhār kara abhāgāre
ꝺāki tomāy bāre bāre
bipade paꝺechi āmi
tumi bine gati naire
caraṇ dhare ḍāki tomāy
adham baloke ḍāki
āmi tomay avatāre

[91] *Be* is a Persian negative particle.
[92] As mentioned above, on this page the author of the manuscript introduces an alternative ending to Sambhūmitta's story.
[93] ḍākibe.

Sambhūmitta Pālā: English translation

[**a**]

Sambhūmitta's ballad
(a devotional song based on a Buddhist birth-story)
writers
Madan Mohan Cākmā BA BL
and
Rāsamohan Baruā MA
singer
Śrījut Bābu Śaśāṅka Bikāś Chaudhurī
Village: Ṭhegarpuni
Post Office: Bhāṭīkhāśin
Chittagong
26 October 1953 C.E.

[**b**]

Oh my mind, utter on [your] tongue "Buddha" [and] there will be no fear of death
oh there will be no fear of death, there will be no fear of death
oh my mind, ceaselessly utter the name of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha
without Buddha, Dharma and Sangha there would be no release from the world
Angulīmālā was a hunter, through the name of the Buddha he completed his crossing [i.e. was saved]
at the end [of life], forever companion, do not forget the triple gem
to cross the ocean of life call the navigator Buddha
without the navigator Buddha there would be no release from the world
brick house, brick residence, the rich landlord
leaving the cage of life cannot take anything with him
these wealth, people, [are] night dreams
worship the triple gem, o senseless mind
so, you, do not forget this

(Jh.) (so) don't you forget
honey smeared, the name of the Buddha …………………

honey smeared, the name of the Dharma…………………
honey smeared, the name of the Sangha ………………….

(Jh) don't forget, don't forget
such a day will not come again …………………..…....
the more you say, the more goodness will come………
say, say, again say …………………………………..…
honey smeared is the Buddha's name………………….

[c]

in the same mouth, o friend, in which you ate milk and sugar
there they will put burning fire
great house, marvellous residence, favourite wife
at the time of leaving there is no companion for the road
wife, son, sister, nephew, nobody belongs to anybody
[all are] false affections of a short time, acquaintances of the road
if the clay pot [or its] lid break it is not possible to fix [them]
golden body, how will [you] be burned!
to whom will you give the brick house and the brick residence?
In whose hands will you deposit the key to the iron safe?

(Jh.) nobody belongs to one
wife, son, sister, nephew …………………………
at the time of going, companion of the road ………
affections are of a short time ………………………
brick house, brick residence ………………………
speak of brother, speak of friend ………………..…
alone you come, alone you go …………………….

[d]

where is the Buddha for the suppliants, please, appear to me [just] once
most precious gem[94] of my adoration, whom if I do not see my heart would break
in what happiness, venerable Buddha, you have kept me; day and night, the

[94] *Cintāmaṇi*: wish-fulfilling gem.

fire of my possession burns my body!
showering [me] with the water of your love, [please] cool me down
the stream of life[95] has no shore, [and] in the middle of the ocean [which has] no shore I float around
there is no such friend [here], who calls out to ask [if I need help, i.e. to offer his help]

you are the Truth equal to the beautiful Karuṇā,[96] Oh! great liberated divinity
you welcome sorrow for the search of bliss
you fulfilled your excellence in your repeated births
you have gained knowledge, oh! great liberated divinity
when having churned the milk ocean of sorrow, you found the nectar[97]
that [i.e. the path to liberation] you gave away [to your disciples] for the benefit of living beings
you gave the world supreme knowledge, Oh! great liberated divinity
when the creatures of the three worlds wept, the gods appealed to you
having heard the wails of the miserable ones
again you made a trip to the world, o great liberated divinity
obeisance to [my] teacher

[e]

invocation

Oh you Buddha, ocean of compassion, friend of the poor, lord of the world
Buddha, the son of Śuddhodana, husband of Gopā, I salute you
Buddha who is the father of Rāhula, the refuge of those with no refuge
prostrating myself on the ground, I salute [you] with my eight limbs
firstly, I prostrate myself at the feet of the venerable Buddha
secondly, I humbly pay my respects to the Dharma
thirdly, I salute the assembly of the excellent people
I pay homage to the triple gem, prostrating myself to the ground

[95] Literally "flow of becoming" thus referring to the Buddhist idea of the five aggregates continuously changing.

[96] Personification of *karuṇā*.

[97] Reference to Hindu myth in which the ocean of milk was churned to obtain the nectar that made gods immortal. Means of liberation.

at the feet of the venerable Buddha I present my petition to please, o voice of mine, come

first I salute all the elders
please accept my humbly spoken greetings
I send my respects to [my] father's feet
from whose semen I was born, I sing Buddha's song
I obediently bow down at my mother's feet
in whose womb having been born, I sing songs of obeisance
and all the savants I praise

(Jh.) I will sing the ballad of Sambhūmitta

(S.) all of you people, listen to the story of Sambhūmitta
in your heart judge all merit and demerit
if you listen to this story there will be advent of knowledge

(Jh.) I will openly speak, in the middle of this assembly

[1] (K.) The very prosperous town of Campaka was, in ancient times, the play-house of nature. Rows of buildings with very high cupolas decorated with coral, opals and pearls used to increase the beauty of the town: Campaka was always full of natural wealth.

(S.) the town of Campaka was full of natural crops and flowers
the happy subjects day and night practised non-violence [as] the greatest Dharma

(Jh.) nobody ever thought of harming anybody
[There] happily reigned in Campaka
a king named Sambhūmitta
treating them as his own children, he very carefully
cared for his subjects

(Jh.) everybody was happy
floating on the waves of happiness ....

(D. Jh.) always were the residents of Campaka ....

(K.) Sambhūmitta, the king of Campaka, had a queen named Keśinī and, like a spring of peace in the desert of life

(S.) he had two sons
Jayasen [and] Jayadatta…………………..……
in the town of Campaka………………..……

(D) he had two sons, Jayasen [and] Jayadatta

[2] (K.) He[98] had a younger brother named Asambhūmitta. One day Asambhū sat in the flower garden and thought: "If [my] elder brother were to die or to get [too] old, indeed his sons would sit on the royal throne and there would be happiness and prosperity. I too was born in a royal family, but in this life I shall never get to know the joy of kingship. Therefore, by hook or by crook, I shall usurp the royal throne from my elder brother. Otherwise the moon of my fortune will forever be covered with the darkness of hopelessness."

(S.) if [my] elder brother does not leave the kingdom without a fight,
I would certainly take it by killing him with the strike of weapons
[and], oh yes, I shall kill his children.

(Jh.) so that no lineage from them will survive in the world
I will make their blood flow in a stream
having swum [in it] I shall quench my thirst in it

I will paint
the town of Campaka, [with] the blood of the children…………
a river of blood I will let flow …………………………..…….…

(K.) Asambhū took this vow [and] secretly giving riches to courtiers and friends confused them so that they would think of Sambhūmitta as an enemy.

(S.) (Jh.) he brought them to his side
giving much wealth ……………………………
confusing courtiers and friends ……….……….

[3] (K.) One day, while His Majesty Sambhūmitta was sitting on the throne, a minister came in an excited state and said: "Your Majesty, as a snake which is brought up with care, becoming ready to bite his own master, spreads [his] large hood, in the same way the one you brought up, holding him against your chest with great love, that very one, the always nurtured Asambhū, today, wishing to snatch away the kingdom from your hands, looks at you with poisonous eyes."

[98] Sambhūmitta.

(S.) if Asambhū ever got to suffer some disease
[you] became sad, suffering out of sorrow for his pain.
for the cure of [his] disease, day and night without resting
always you nursed [him] giving up eating and sleeping
the wicked, dishonest, mean criminal, performer of bad actions [as he is]

(Jh.) out of greed for the kingdom [he] forgot such a benefactor

(K.) Hearing these words from the mouth of the minister, the king, speechless and surprised said: "My brother Asambhū is intriguing against me! No, I do not want this kingdom any more."

(S.) what is the use of the royal throne
the golden palace
at the time of death I shall leave all behind
[these] gems [and] money

[4] (K) "Far from wishing to continue my reign [at the cost of] making war on my brother, and consequently acquiring black infamy,[99] I do not want even the kingdom of heaven."

(S.) in the hands of Asambhū the kingdom [and] the golden throne
I will put up with no blood shed.
let him spend time in happiness

(Jh.) having sat on the golden throne and reigned as king
[now] dressed like a beggar I will go to the forest
eating fruits and roots I will maintain [my] life there

(Jh.) I will go to the forest
I now give up my kingdom ....

(D.) I am going, I am hurrying, I now give up the kingdom

(K.) The king having become disgusted with his own kingdom, and intending to go to the forest, went to his wife Keśinī in order to take leave.

(S.) (D. Jh.) in order to take leave the king went slowly
to the room of Keśinī
tears were falling down his cheeks incessantly
having an ocean of grief in his mind

[99] Lit. smear my body.

(Jh.) he called his queen
Oh! you my beloved, do get up ………………………
This call of her husband……[manuscript illegible]……… the queen

[5] (K.) The king then said: "My dear, I have come to know that my brother intending to usurp the royal throne is leading a conspiracy against me. The throne for which one's own brother can raise the flag of rebellion, that royal throne like a worthless bit of grass I am right now throwing away."

(S.) oh! my beloved bid me farewell, I shall go away leaving the
kingdom, taking with you the two children please go to your father's
house

(S.) you shall never see me again
I shall go very far

(Jh.) but at the moment of going [forever] let me see the children to fill up
my eyes

(K) [When] that virtuous wife, devoted to her husband, suddenly heard from the mouth of her husband these heart breaking words, her heart broke into a hundred pieces. Then, in pain, she said:

(Jh.) if you don't take me with you
I shall die taking poison……………………………

(Jh.) please take me along as your companion, me who am like your
shadow and am wretched

(Jh.) the gem of a king in his beautiful voice
then said these words…………………………………………….
(D.) you stay and live at home, I shall go and live in the forest

[6] (K.) Then the king said to the queen in a tone of consolation: "My dear,

(S.) while living in a house on hearing the cry of a jackal
you become very frightened in terror.
hearing the roar of the ferocious beast you will be terrified in the forest
what makes you so brave that you want to go to the forest?

(K.) [When] the queen heard these prohibitive words of the king, her heart, soft as a flower, became pained. Having embraced and holding the feet of her husband, with eyes full of tears, she said in a sad voice: "In my life I have not asked you for anything, today I ask you this."

(S.) husbands are the ornament of powerless virtuous wives
without husbands they do not shine in the world
you indeed are the husband of my heart's desire

(D.) I will not let you go alone to the depth of the forest

(K.) He did not succeed in his efforts to console the queen in various ways and leave her behind. At last the two of them, each clasping one of the two babies to their chests, got ready to leave their motherland. At that time the king, with tears in his eyes, addressed the motherland [and] said: "Oh! you, Campaka, the delighter, my land of birth, which is superior even to heaven, from childhood [I] played a lot on your green lap, and I have nourished this body eating your fruits and roots. Mother, I salute you. Today, your beggar son is going for ever to far lands, leaving you behind." Having said this, the king and queen

[7] (S.) (Jh.) slowly went
having abandoned the city of Campaka…………………
abandoning all subjects……………………………...…

(D. Jh.) clasping the children to their chest………………………..

(S.) after the king - followed queen Keśī

(Jh.) moving majestically,[100] her breast flooded with tears.

(K.) Having crossed many difficult mountains, forests and deserts, at last they arrived at the bank of a mighty river, full of water. Having put the two children under a fig tree well decorated with dangling creepers

(S.) the king having taken the queen
swam across the river
having brought Keśinī to the other bank and keeping [her there]
he got down into the water again

(Jh.) he swam in the water of the river
keeping the queen on one bank…………………………………
in order to bring the children……………………………………
beloved like one's life……………………………………………

[100] Like an elephant.

(K.) Just when the king was half way across the river, Kaibarttas[101] were passing in a rowing boat, talking to each other. Having heard the words of the Kaibarttas, Jayasen thinking that their father was coming, happily said these words:

[8] (S.) come quickly, oh father, having swum across the river
calm us down clasping us to your chest
on such a night, on the sand bank of the river,
we are awaiting you because [we] are frightened in [our] heart

(Jh.) oh father, come
take us quickly..................

(K.) Then the Kaibarttas having heard the call of the children in the middle of such a quiet forest, were worried and surprised

(S.) having heard the call of the children the two Kaibarttas
then became worried and surprised
whoever is this child calling on the deserted river bank
uttering "come, come, father", in great confidence

(Jh.) they went and checked
who [was] this child calling at that place ....

(K.) Then the Kaibarttas saw Jayasen and Jayadatta on the bank of the river. Having seen the two children, they felt filial love for them. Saying: "Today we have got two jewels of sons"

(Jh.) with happy hearts
they took away the two children.................
they put them in the boat.........................
they took them away in the boat.................

[9] (K.) Very soon after the Kaibarttas had gone away, king Sambhūmitta coming out of the river could not see [his] two children [and]

(S.) sometimes under the trees sometimes in the water of the river
he searched for them running around
sometimes fainting sometimes lamenting
sometimes weeping loudly

[101] Hindu caste of fishermen.

(Jh.) the king weepingly called saying
oh sons come to me
do come oh jewels of my heart

(D. Jh.) not seeing you my heart breaks into pieces

(K.) The king's heart [was] sad for the disappearance of [his] sons.

(S.) weeping the king said in a choked voice
today having come here I have lost my darlings.
if taking them with me[and] dressed as a beggar

(Jh.) we had wandered in different countries [despite] our begging,

(S.) even then we would have lived happily in this life
tirelessly peacefully clasping my children to our chests

(Jh.) I would have remained oblivious of my troubles
clasping to my chest my heart's beloved…………………………..…………
having seen the faces of my darlings………………………………..………..

[10] (K.) Even after much searching he failed to find his two sons: the wealth of his life. The king, his heart heavy with grief, started to swim again in the water of the river in order to go back to his queen.
(S.) repeatedly he looked back
if he could see the children …………………………
he could not believe in his heart that he had lost them, alas…..……

(K.) At the time when king Sambhūmitta was half way across the river, five hundred merchants were going for trade on a boat. Keśinī was seated in the moonlight, spreading the kingdom of her beauty, quietly, like a stone image. Seeing Keśinī the merchants asked:

(S.) who are you, beautiful woman, [staying] here all alone
waiting for whom are you sitting here, tell us now
at last the queen said in a low voice
he went to the other bank leaving me here
without any delay he will come back

(Jh.) to this bank to take wretched me, swimming the huge river

(K.) The businessmen said to one another: "We have never seen such a bright, charming female form in our mortal eyes. As if the full moon of autumn had

come down to the ground." The eldest merchant told the queen: "Oh queen you come on board. I [**11**] shall come and get you now." Having heard the words of the merchant, the slim[102] body of the queen trembled like a *mādhovī* creeper slightly shaken by the spring breeze

(S.) Keśinī then weeping
said slowly with modesty
I am a wretched [woman] from my birth full of grief
I tell you do not take me [please]

if my husband comes back here [and] does not see me here
he will be agitated in grief crying loudly
I have one such son who has not yet been weaned

(D.) if you take me who will feed him [and the other one] with
evaporated milk and cream.

(K.) Then the queen told the merchants in a pitiable voice:

(D.) to save the suckling baby [I] am begging this
[that] you release me compassionately
without them I would go crazy
day and night burning with grief for my children

(K.) In spite of the queen's great begging and persuading, the evil-minded merchant, without listening to her words, forcefully took her on board and cast off. On the boat,

(S.) the queen, almost crazy, grieving for [her] sons and husband
sometimes stood and sometimes sat, it was difficult to keep her still
her tears [were] flowing incessantly

(D.) even more than the rains showered by the clouds of the months of
Asad and Śrāban[103]

[**12**] (K.) The queen [was] almost crazy grieving for [her] sons and husband.

(D. Jh.) the queen weeping loudly striking her head with her fist
repeatedly saying: where are my husband and sons,
the cruel merchants have pulled me on to this boat

[102] Lit. creeper-like.
[103] June & July, monsoon months.

and are taking me away with alacrity
my heart is breaking [because] I cannot see the faces of my children
and I cannot see my dear husband
[that I should] not see my children and husband
was that written on my destiny?
Is it that I am born to weep?

(Jh.) who will give milk
to Jayadatta affectionately ………………………………..
with [his] moon like face whom will he call mother ……..

(D. Jh.) whom will he call mother, who will give [him] milk

(K.) Shortly after Keśinī was abducted by the merchant king Sambhū, getting out of the water, went to that tree where he had left the queen [and] saw that the queen was not there. Like the waves of the ocean the king's grief swelled and then he cried loudly: "Darling at this time of danger you too have left me, having stuck the arrow of great grief into my heart."

[13] (S.) the king called pitifully, oh darling,
where have you gone, come back here quickly
[but] he did not get any sound from the queen

(Jh.) he cried out flooding his chest with his tears
in the first place, the grief for the children left me
feeling wretched, [and now] not finding you here, my mind is trembling.

(Jh.) come back quickly, darling
wherever you have gone…………………………
give peace to me, the unhappy one………………

(K.) The king, overcome by grief for the queen, addressed big and small rivers, trees, whatever he saw in front of him, asking.

(S.) pitifully weeping addressing [them] he asked
mountain, river, branches, trees
sky, wind, gods and demons
creepers, animals and birds
following which path would I meet my wife and sons
please tell me

deprived of them how shall I live
I shall die

(S.) where shall I go, what shall I do I can't think any more

(D. Jh.) going where [can] I cool down this body which is scorched by grief

[14] (K.) The king not being able to bear the burden of grief in his heart, started to call death: "Oh death, where are you? Gobble me up. Oh sun, moon, lightening, falling out of your orbit

(S.) destroy me the unlucky one
I beseech you meekly and wretchedly …………………………

(D. Jh.) I cannot bear my sorrow any more ……………………………..
(S.) alas, Sambhūmitta almost mad in his sorrow
ran aimlessly like a deer struck by lightening.
Wandering through many towns and forests, at last
he arrived in the country of Takṣaśila

(Jh.) he arrived
with an exhausted body and without food …………..
wandering through many city and forests, the king ………

(K.) The king entered a flower garden of Takṣaśila and covering all his body with a piece of cloth slept on a piece of rock. At that time, the king of Takṣaśila had died, and since he did not have any children, the royal throne was empty. The ministers considering that the royal throne should not remain empty, let go the flower chariot.

[15] (S.) the very beautiful chariot moves slowly
behind it followed hundreds of men
dancing girls danced to the beat of the drum
male and female singers sang clapping to the beat.

(Jh.) oh you please ululate
oh girls, in a sweet voice …………………

(S.) in that garden in which Sambhūmitta was sleeping
there entered the flower chariot.

(Jh.) [it] circumambulated him
[when] the flower chariot for the seventh time ………………...……

(S.) then the priest removing the cloth
inspected the soles of [his] feet

(Jh.) he saw royal marks
on the soles of the feet of king Sambhūmitta …………………

(K.) Then the priest told everybody: "This person sleeping on the stone [is] worthy to be the king of Takṣaśila. Let us today consecrate him as king in this garden." Then everybody with delighted heart repeatedly called king Sambhū:

[**16**] (S.) (Jh.) oh master, wake up
having shaken off [your] sleep, get on the chariot ………………..…

(D. Jh.) ....………………………………………………………………

(K.) When king Sambhū woke up from his sleep, he asked: "Why did you call [me]? Then everybody said to him:

(S.) we want to make you king
of the kingdom of Takṣaśila ……………………………

(K) Then king Sambhū having concealed his sadness with great difficulty, asked them in a sweet voice: "Why indeed should you invite this beggar of the road[104] to be your king. Is there no king in this kingdom?" Then the subjects said:

(S.) there was a king, who possessed all good qualities
he used to protect all his subjects with love
[but] he has gone to the realm of death

(D. Jh.) he has nobody in this world, no wife, daughter or son

(S.) for this reason, we the people [of this country], all got together,
now we shall consecrate you as our king

(Jh.) get on the chariot, our master!
do not delay any more …………………………….

[**17**] (K.) King Sambhū unable to ignore their persuasion, finally got on the chariot.

(S.) slowly slowly went the chariot
taking king Sambhū on its bosom ..…………………………

[104] Pauper.

oh "hail the king"
young and old ………………. collectively
oh all women ululate (2) …………….… collectively

(K.) King Sambhū having taken the throne of Takṣaśila ruled the kingdom efficiently. Whenever he recollected his dear children, he felt as if a hundred thousand scorpions stung his heart [and] unable to endure the sharp pain he used to say in a choked voice:

(S.) without my dear children it is dark [as] night
useless are the palace and gems like diamond and pearl

(D. Jh.) if I hold someone else's child, the fire of my mind burns doubly
what is this condition I have reached in this world.
was it written on my forehead [that I should] never see [my] wife and children?
how can I put out the fire of my mind?

(K.) Oh, my audience, here I postpone the story of Sambhūmitta. Let's go and see again how Jayasen and Jayadatta are doing in the house of the fishermen.

[18] (S.) the fishermen looked after the children with great care
[they] were growing day by day like the moon of the bright fortnight

(Jh.) in their house kept on growing
the children in the house of the fishermen ……………………………
[the children] wanted to stay in a clean and nice place……………....
they hated dirtiness, ugliness and mud …………………………...

(Jh.) the fishermen pondered
having seen the nature of the children ……………………………

(K.) Finally the fishermen took the pair of boys and presented them to the king of Takṣaśila.

(S.) the king[too] brought up the boys like his own sons
[but] at this time father and sons did not know each other

(K.) The eldest trader abducted the queen. Then, talking to her in an elaborate manner, he proposed marriage to her. But the queen in disgust and embarrassment bent her head like a *lajjāratī* creeper and refused this unpleasant proposal. Then the trader threatened her in many ways and also tempted her with many promises. The queen was not distracted even with that and said:

(Daśadhuśī)
(S.) whom, earlier, as my husband I honoured in this world
as my god and worshipped him
[he was like] the tree of hope for the hopeless, he was my great teacher
without him this world is dark

[**19**] (S.) [I,] this helpless one, selling the wealth of my chastity
shall never be your sexual partner
even if [you] kill me stabbing me with a weapon

(D. Jh.) I cannot ever accept you as my husband

(K.) The tradesman, despite being disappointed, when going abroad for trading, used to take the queen [with him] in order to be able to fulfil [his] lust. Whenever he, his heart contaminated with lust, tried to touch the queen, the queen would take refuge in the Buddha's qualities and meditating on the *śīlanusmṛti*[105] would speak thus:

(S.) oh Buddha friend of the poor save this wretched one
I have fallen into danger and I call you again and again
your feet are indeed
the strength of women
but for you there is nobody in this life for this wretched one
whenever the queen would call the Buddha in a pathetic voice
the wicked tradesman could not touch her body

(Jh.) like burning fire
then the queen's body would become hot ………………
the tradesman kept on thinking
how strange is this woman …………………………………..

(D. Jh.) I cannot understand, how strange is this woman

[**20**] (K.) Once the tradesman anchored the boat at the royal pier of Takṣaśila. Having left the queen in the boat, taking some attractive objects he made a gift to king Sambhū. Then the king told the tradesman: Mr. Tradesman tonight here there will be a theatrical performance. You shall depart after seeing it. Then the tradesman respectfully told him: "Oh great king, I left my wife in the boat."

[105] See *Visuddhimagga* VII, 101-6.

(S.) If I stay here who will protect her?
[I] cannot stay, therefore please excuse me, master
king Sambhūmitta sent Jayasen [and] Jayadatta
to the river bank
he sent them
both the boys to the river bank

(S.) at that time Jayadatta asked
kindly brother give me an account of [our] antecedents
in this world who are our mother and father
and how did we get into the house of the fishermen

(Jh.) kindly tell me brother
who are our mother and father ………………...

(D.) explain to me, where is our birth place

[21] (K.) Meanwhile, in the boat, the queen, grief-stricken for her sons, having heard those heart-rending words of Jayadatta, [felt] as if every string of the harp of her heart was tingling. She thought: "This late in the night, on the bank of the river, why do these two boys chat like this? Are they too like my children Jayasen and Jayadatta, born unfortunate? Let me see what more they say."

(S.) standing on the boat the queen listened to the boys' conversation
carefully, with attention
then Jayasen said listen, oh dear brother
the fire of grief arises in my heart

(S.) we were born in a royal family, we are princes
we, wretched ones, lost our mother and father at the bank of a river

(J.) you were very young

(D. Jh.) I tell you my dear brother …………………………

(S.) listen, the city of Campaka is our birth place
Sambhūmitta is our father, Keśinī our mother

[22] (K.) Hearing the chat of Jayasen and Jayadatta the queen understood that those two boys were indeed none but her own sons Jayasen and Jayadatta

As a she-cobra who has lost her crest jewel becomes impatient when she finds it back, the queen having got her sons, the lost jewels, could no more keep quiet.

Like a mad woman she got out of the boat [and exclaimed:] alas my son Jayasen alas my son Jayadatta, here I have arrived, your beggar mother

(S.) having become agitated with grief, crying loudly
embracing and holding the two boys to her chest

(Jh.) the queen kept on crying incessantly
holding the darlings to her chest ………………………………..
getting back her jewels of sons ………………………………...

(D. Jh.) the boys having heard the words of Keśinī understood that
this wretched woman is our mother
[then,] crying pitifully "mama" they held the queen's feet and wept
at that time their ocean of grief overflowed

(Jh.) mama ma
hold us against your chest ………………
our bodies are paralysed ………………..

where have you been so long

(D. Jh.) holding the darlings to her chest the queen cries loudly

[23] (K.) The queen embracing the two darlings of her heart wept copiously. Then a man having seen this occurrence went to the merchant and told [him]. Like a fire fuelled with ghee, the anger of the merchant flared up. He went to the king and said: "King, I have come to know that those guards you sent are harassing her [my wife]." The king as soon as he heard these words of the businessman, became angry and roared like a lion and having called the executioner said: "Oh executioner, take the two boys without delay from the river bank to the execution ground, [and] execute [them], so that I need not see their sinful faces." Then the executioner, getting the royal command,

(S.) sword in hand, eyes red, running, repaired there
gnashing [his] teeth, [looking] like the messenger of death,
the cruel executioner, tied the boys quickly
with a sharp cord. By the rubbing [of the cord]
blood oozed from the tied places.
we cannot endure the pain, they said crying

we cannot endure
oh mother, such pain ……………………

blood is falling in streams ……………..

(D. Jh.) executioner, tell us quickly why did you bind us

[24] (K.) The cruel-hearted executioner having heard the words of the two boys threatening and shouting said: "Why did I bind you? The answer to it would be giving this punch, this kick and this slap." Having said that, he took them to the execution ground [while] punching and kicking [them] beyond the boys' endurance, greatly hurting the bodies of the boys. At that time, filling the horizon with their heart-piercingly sad lamentation, they said:

(S.) our limbs are paralysed, we cannot lift our feet
leaving our unfortunate mother we are going to the cremation ground
deprived of us she will be as if unconscious
her eyes will shed a flood of tears, our hearts are bursting [now]

(Jh.) we are going we are going
leaving our helpless mother ……………………………………
for the last time in our lives we go to the execution ground ……

having seen the suffering of the sons
the queen was crying with great sorrow ………………………………….

why does my death not come
so that I do not see this grief …………………………………
before I witness the bereavement of my sons ………………………

was this in my destiny
that I should burn in the fire of grief ………………………

[25] she prostrated herself on the ground shouting: "Children, children"
as a banana tree falls on the ground in a great storm

(Jh.) rolling about she wept
beating her chest ……………………………
in disarray the queen ……………………….

(K.) While on the way, a pundit heard the story of the two boys [and] his heart [was] afflicted, [so] he went to the king [and] said: "King, before you condemned to death these two slave boys today, you should have judged whether they were really guilty or not. Oh king, finding guilt without investigation is not proper justice."

(S.) if the king of the kingdom ever becomes a tyrant
the subjects die burning from the demerit of the king

(Jh.) whether bad or good luck
happen in the kingdom …………………………
according to the nature of the king the subjects are happy or unhappy

(K.) Having heard the good advice of the pundit, the king said: "Respectable pundit, as the dark night becomes lighted by the clear and white moonlight of the full moon, having heard your rational words I can understand now that I committed a great mistake in not investigating them." Then the king called a messenger [and] said: "Oh messenger, without delay go to the cremation ground and fetch the two boys."

The executioner put the two boys on the ground like helpless baby fawns, pulling the sword out of its scabbard he was about to kill them. The messenger saw that scene from a distance from the execution ground [and] rising his voice shouted:

(S.) stop, stop, oh executioner!
do not slay now the boys ………………………

I have orders
I have to take them to the king ……………

(D. Jh.) having rescued the boys [he] took [them] quickly to the king's presence
then the king asked
asked them gently
tell me, oh servants, tell me quickly all the full account clearly

[27] (Jh.) what have you done
with the tradesman's wife …………………
in the dead of the night ……………………

(D.) leaving aside fear and embarrassment, tell me clearly

(D. Jh) hearing the king's speech weeping in great grief
the boys said
she is not the wife of the tradesman she is our mother
oh king, please listen to us

(Jh.) please, king. listen to our words
she is our mother ……………………………………

(D.) we, the wretched ones, saw our mother   we tell you this quickly

(K.) The king was surprised to hear the account of the boys and said: "Dear boys, you are the sons of the fishermen, how can you introduce the wife of the tradesman as your mother?" Then the boys, clasping their bloody palms together, said in a tormented voice:

(S.) the fishermen are not our parents, please listen
we shall explain to you our account
we were born in a royal family, we are princes

(Jh.) we poor ones lost our father and mother on the bank of a river

[**28**] (S.) Sambhūmitta is our father Keśinī is our mother
the prosperous city of Campaka is our motherland

(Jh.)   Do listen, oh king!
our mother is in the boat ………………

(D.) Our sad mother, oh king, is in the boat

(K.) Having heard the words of Jayasen and Jayadatta the king understood that those two boys were none but his beloved Jayasen and Jayadatta [and] his whole face lit up in ecstatic happiness like the sky suddenly free of clouds. Then he rose from the golden seat and said: "My boys, I am your wretched father Sambhūmitta." Having said this,

(S.) the king quickly embraced them
again and again [he] clasped them to his chest [and] kissed them

(Jh.)   tears of joy flowed down
flooding his cheeks …………………………
from both the king's eyes ………………….

(D.) what happiness, what heavenly happiness, [brings] in this world the
face [of one's] son

(S.) the boys then   weeping
said in a distressed voice
ever wretched   our mother
is, oh father, [still] in the boat.

[30] (K.) Oh father, as a wild doe caught in the hunter's net suffers much torment at the hands of the hunter, in the same way the tradesman having bound our mother with iron fetters is inflicting on her unbearable tortures in the boat.

(J.) Oh father we beseech you
falling at your feet ....

(D.) let us go father to the river bank to fetch our mother.

(K.) The great king Sambhūmitta, having heard from the words of his sons that news of his dearest [wife] became mad with joy and having gone to the river bank told the tradesman: "Oh brother tradesman, that woman who is in your boat is my wife. One day in the dead of night, due to an evil turn of fate I lost her on the bank of a river. Be compassionate my brother, please return [to me my] life companion. The tradesman having heard such words from the king, said: "Oh king I return her, you take her along." Then

(S.) the king climbed on the boat Keśinī by her name

(D. Jh.) he called in a very sad voice
hearing the words of [her] dear husband the queen went crazy
[and] cried out in a loud voice

(Jh.) the queen swooned
having fallen at the feet of the king ....

(D.) seeing [her] husband after such a long time the queen swooned.

[30] (S.) when she gained consciousness, the chaste wife
the gem of mankind [Sambhūmitta] raised her in great love and care and said

(Jh.) oh dear, do not cry
let's go to the royal palace now ....
our sons are with us ....

(D.) let's go to the royal palace now, with our sons

(S.) taking his sons and wife the king went to the royal palace
various auspicious instruments were played to an extremely sweet tune
king Sambhūmitta was intoxicated with happiness
all the subjects were rejoicing
in the royal palace of Takṣaśila there started a great celebration[106]

[106] Bazaar=market=festivity.

(Jh.) there started a great celebration
in the kingdom of Takṣaśila ……………………………….
the king and queen were reunited …………………………..
mother and sons were reunited ……………………………..

(D. Jh.) mother and sons were reunited, there started a great celebration

(K.) It was mentioned in the Jātaka [that] in their preceding lives Jayasen and Jayadatta were born as the sons of king Sambhūmitta's wife, queen Keśinī. In that life, at the queen's importuning, king Sambhūmitta brought two young chicks from the top of a tree for the entertainment of the two boys. Returning to the nest, the couple of talking birds [**31**] were overwhelmed with the pain [caused] by the separation [from their chicks] due to the disappearance of the two chicks. When they[107] stopped playing, king Sambhūmitta put back the two chicks in the right place. The parrot and mynah were very delighted to get back the two chicks. Because of the bad deeds of his previous life king Sambhūmitta lost his own two sons and wife in this life and had to suffer the endless pain of separation before getting them back again because he stole the chicks [and] caused unbearable pain, [even though] he returned them again.

(S.) in this earthly life, whatever one does
one has to accept a similar result.
Sambhūmitta's ballad has now come to an end

(Jh.) Oh you, assembled good people, shout the name of the Buddha in love and bliss

the end

shout the name of the Buddha and hail him
raising your arms in the ecstasy of loving bliss …………………………..
all your sufferings will go away ………………………………………….

[**I**] Oh you, assembled friends, recognise this
(my) wealth of Buddha Dhamma and Sangha (twice)
the triple gem appeared on this earth in order to save beings by giving [them] the mantra of non-violence
we give up the worship of illusory things when we worship the *Arahant*
[there is no one] but that compassionate one to get across the ocean of life

[107] Jayasen and Jayadatta in their preceding life.

give up jealousy, abuse, quarrelling and embrace each other
take on your body the bond of unity, accepting the tendency of the current time
give up the stubbornness of aristocracy, give up the glory of monastic *nikāya*[108]
with concentrated mind meditate on loving kindness
in order to practise the means to the life beyond, you should communally take up initiation[109] [, i.e.:] on the two seventh days in the month[110] and on the new moon and full moon days
those who are householders either in the morning or in the evening should take the five precepts
otherwise life would pass fruitlessly, and how shall you be liberated?
all around there will be prosperity, the glory of the nation and Dharma will increase
this is the pleading of poor Baskar at the feet of the nation

[II] I have spent my time meditating on you in this world
....
oh Dharma - my heart is trembling seeing the darkness [and] the days finishing
the cuckoo started calling
I kept waiting hoping that [you] would appear one day
day after day all my days have passed (ditto)
oh Dharma - I have made the abuse of relatives and friends my garland
only because I shall get you
if you appear everybody will know [you] as the compassionate one
let the drum sound filling up the world (twice)

oh Dharma - non-violence is the greatest Dharma which is the essence of your religion
[by it] people get liberated
Baskar says that when your are one's navigator there is nothing to worry about
one gets encouraged by getting that sign.

[III] We get destroyed because we lack the attitude of friendship, oh friend, beware of Buddhist people
(oh friends) the leaders that we follow quarrel with each other [and] we are ashamed when we hear the rumour

[108] This is a clear appeal for the unity of the Bangladeshi Sangha.
[109] Lit. get the mantra.
[110] [the dark and bright fortnight].

in many books and pamphlets they make negative propaganda about different races
oh friends, is this the way to bring development?
(oh friends,) being born Buddhist, [we] have adopted non-Buddhist customs
each of us lives blinded by selfishness
there are only a handful of Buddhist people, we do not understand the rules of advancement
oh friend, we destroy various [Buddhist] institutions
(oh friends,) keeping together, let's be intoxicated by the music of unity
there is no deliverance without this idea
get rid of jealousy and abuse, take upon yourselves the tendency of the present time
keep your meditation on loving kindness in the binding of unity
(oh friends,) give up the differences of lineage [and] *nikāya*, improve your own religion
please listen, oh you, the whole Buddhist public.
this is the prayer of poor Baskar, do not keep quiet when you know the truth.
the fire [of destruction] has caught the corner of our house.

[IV] worship the divine Buddha, utter the word of the divine Buddha, take the name of the divine Buddha
giving up attachment to possessions avoiding great slumber (slumber of delusion) he is the practitioner of salvation
oh you, play on the *mṛdanga* and drum and utter Buddha['s name] with blissful love
sing the qualities of the Buddha with ecstasy (three times), remember it again
let's go to the other side of the river of life
o you black bee[111] sing day and night the qualities of the Buddha, the gem of the lineage of Sakya
he who floats on the nectar of the name of the Buddha attains salvation
wake up, wake up, Buddhists of Bengal ! Why are you sleeping?
China, Ceylon and Japan are awake, Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan are awake, Burma, Thailand push forward, they are intoxicated by the sixth Council
within the time of two and a half thousand years the Buddhist religion will rise
pervading the hearth with the mantra of non-violence, it will rise again

[111] See note 75.

the speech of the great man is about to come, alas! Why are we immersed in the delusion of blindness selfishness, quarrel internally [and hence our] society is becoming as if dead every day?
wiping away the black smear of violence, animosity and duality, oh you, forget all group quarrels.
swinging on the swing of unity holding the banner of non-violence, oh you, forget all group quarrels.

this is the appeal of poor Bhaṣkar: engage your mind in meditation on compassion embracing each other with the tune of unity, dedicate your life ....

[V] say Buddha, say Dharma - oh [my] mind once say Sangha
saying Buddha, Buddha, Buddha let's go to the [far] bank of the river of life[112]
to cross the ocean of life[113] - call Buddha the helmsman
indeed the Buddha [is] food for hunger - indeed the Buddha is water for thirst
the Buddha is in water, Buddha is in land, the Buddha is in the moon, the Buddha is in the sun
the Buddha is in fire, the Buddha is in wind - oh you people heartily salute the Buddha

(D. Jh.) there is no other friend
ei, without the unique Buddha …………………
ei, without the unique Dharma……………………
ei, without the unique Sangha……………………

Wake and arise young Buddhists, society is going to pieces (twice)
should the glorious boat of the *Tathāgata* sink into deep darkness?
the aristocratic chiefs [of the villages] are not conducting themselves according to laws, being deluded by illusion, they wield the stick in every house (twice)
the religion of the nation is falling apart; teach [them] the essence [of religion]; make your birth useful, and fence around your own religion
the leaders who are educated - have completely lost their personality in quarrels
their hearts are full of delusion, being blind with selfishness they destroy society.
this is poor Bhaskar's appeal to the Bengali Buddhist students, please for them explain the modern development of non-violence and loving friendship.

[112] Which separates this world from the other.
[113] Use of "ocean" and "river" with same meaning. In Chittagong coastal area the ocean is called *boronadi* or *bairernadi*, meaning the river of outside.

[VI] oh you my mind, you didn't practise worship and devotion

(Jh.) you did not recognise who is the philosophers' jewel which is the treasure of religious practice
listen, my mind, listen to my words, keep your mind fixed on the Venerable Buddha (alas my poor mind)
if you say Buddha Dharma and Sangha, there will be no fear from sin, oh my mind
birth, old age and the disease of being, will not exist
repeat the name of the guru who has given you that mantra (twice)
if you can call him in the proper manner you will realise him inside your heart (twice)
in fact you don't know how to call properly
where is your country house, where is your house, where do you conduct your living (twice)
Sariputta and Moggallana were the ones who became the Lord's disciples
tell me indeed in which age, to which pupillary lineage you belong

(Jh.) Those who will engage in killing and stealing
as a result of their misconduct will go to hell
whoever will lie or drink alcohol
the goddess of good luck will leave him day by day
your own friends revealed that by the performance of *sīla* one goes to heaven
the virtuous people are inviting you, go and rejoice in their company
love the company of the virtuous, show them your respect by bowing your head
entwine their feet with the creeper of your devotion.

[VII] not understanding the nature of the river (oh my mind) don't dive in that river
the unbounded expanse of the river - do not swim
if you dive in you will not be able to find the other side.
I went to the bank of the river - oh! how many people are deluded
they are suffering only watching the waves of the river
the benign teacher Venerable Gautama is on the other side
(oh my mind) one can cross if one has devotion, there is no need for money
say Buddha Dharma and Sangha, remember the name of the triple jewel
then, my mind, you can go

the meritorious people can reach the other bank of the river
the sinner cannot go - sharks and crocodiles will not leave them alone
make the boat of your body balanced, find the boatman, your mind
then you will be able to go
take refuge in the eight precepts and the five precepts
and follow every day calmly the meditation on loving kindness and compassion and so on
there are six oarsmen in the boat of your body they always try to cheat you
oh my silly mind, why are you not in control?
poor and humble Binay says: get hold of the feet of the teacher
without a guru you cannot go to the far bank of the ocean of life

[**VIII**] Sambhūmitta is our father, Keśinī is our mother
we have explained everything, oh you, our beloved king
(the city of Campaka was our motherland)
Campaka city was our motherland
we left the city due to our bad karma

Sambhūmitta is our father
Keśinī is our mother ……………………………
as we have disclosed ……………………………

oh you Buddha friend of the poor people, save this unlucky one
I have encountered danger - I call you again and again
the power of the destitute
comes from your feet
there is nobody besides you - in this world for the destitute
when you will call Buddha, in a helpless pitiable voice
please appear in front of me once
save me this luckless one
I call you again and again
I am in danger
besides you there is no rescuer
I call you holding your feet
like little children
I call you the incarnation of Buddha

An Early Korean Version of the Buddha's Biography

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The *Sŏkka Yŏrae haengjŏk song* (Ode on the acts of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni) was written by the Korean Ch'ŏnt'ae (Ch. Tiantai) monk Mugi in 1328. It is a biography of the Buddha in verse form, which in character somewhat resembles a seventh-century biography by the Chinese official Wang Bo. Both are based on Chinese renditions of the Buddha's life story, but while Wang's work is a terse adaptation tailored to the tastes of a literati audience, in Mugi's work the terse verse format functions as a framework to contain extensive commentaries. The commentaries discuss Tiantai doctrinal points as well as issues that confronted both lay and monastic practitioners of the time. Mugi's foremost concern seems to have been to use the life of the Buddha as an inspiration to counter lax interpretations of the precepts among his fellow monks and inspire them to have more respect for lay donors.

Introduction

Scholarship on the biography of the Buddha has traditionally focused on discovering the real person behind the myths, and as such many studies dealing with the Buddha's life have been based almost exclusively on the earliest Indian sources. Although the past two decades or so have witnessed a move away from the obsession with Buddhist origins, the vast body of Chinese texts that describe the life of Śākyamuni has been virtually ignored following the pioneering work of Samuel Beal in the late nineteenth century. In this paper, I intend to use a fourteenth-century Korean work – the *Sŏkka Yŏrae haengjŏk song* (*Ode on the acts of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni*) by Mugi – as a starting point to reflect on the role of the

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Buddha's life story in the religious life of medieval Korea. The work is derived from earlier Chinese biographies, and will allow us to see how the biography was understood, how it developed, and how it appealed to religious sensibilities in Koryŏ Korea (918-1392). About a century after it was composed, one of the first works to be written in the newly created Korean alphabet was a biography of the Buddha called *Sŏkpo sangjŏl* 釋譜詳節 (*Detailed record of the Buddha's life*, 1447), followed by a poetic version, the *Wŏrin ch'ŏngang chi kok* 月印千江之曲 (*Songs of [the Buddha's] moon reflected in a thousand rivers*, 1449; see Olof). Although better known, these works have not been amply studied either. To understand the Korean contribution to the development of the biography, we would need a systematic comparison between the *Sŏkka Yŏrae haengjŏk song* and Chinese biographies on the one hand, and later Korean biographies on the other. Given the present state of scholarship this is not yet feasible; thus this paper will limit itself to situating the work in the long tradition of writing the life story of the Buddha and to teasing out aspects of its religious agenda.

To provide some context, I will first try to sketch the history and development of the biography of the Buddha as a genre of Buddhist literature, to show Mugi's indebtedness to the Chinese redactions of this genre. Next, I will summarize all our current knowledge about Mugi and his work; and finally, I will try to assess the significance of the sectarian and other religious agendas that are clearly present in this work.

Development of the biography in East Asia

Ironically, despite the obvious importance of the figure of Śākyamuni in the Buddhist religion, Western scholars have paid comparatively little attention to his biographies. More precisely, they have paid little attention to the religious function of his biography. Instead, since the end of the 19th century, the focus has been almost entirely on recovering the "real Siddhartha," the historical figure behind the myths; as a result, most biographies composed in Asia over the past two millennia were rejected out of hand as hagiography, and instead scholars focused on finding the most reliable elements in the earliest textual strata, the Pali texts. With the realization that this representation of Buddhism is a form of "protestant Buddhism" spawned in the context of colonialism, the study of Buddhism has undergone a sea change in recent decades, but with as yet comparatively little attention to the traditional representation of the Buddha's life; an exception is John Powers' recent *A Bull of a Man*, but for studies of the East Asian tradition, the pickings are still

meager. Following the pioneering translations of Samuel Beal, there are only the abridged translation of an early Chinese version by Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky and a few partial studies, most of them focusing, however, on the art-historical aspects of the story (Lesbre, Murray).

The best starting point for an overview of the complex biographical tradition is still Lamotte's treatment of the "deified Buddha". Despite sharing his contemporaries' skepticism regarding the value of the "legend", at least he takes the material seriously. Lamotte discerns five stages in the development of this legend (Lamotte 1986, 648):

1. biographical fragments found in *sūtra*s
2. biographical fragments found in *Vinaya*s
3. autonomous but incomplete "lives"
4. complete lives of the Buddha
5. The Sinhalese compilations

One can of course argue about the agenda of this scheme, which supposes a gradual progression towards more sophisticated (and more mythologizing) biographies, but it remains a useful starting point. What interests me for the purposes of this article is especially sections 3 and 4; what he terms "incomplete" biographies are those that focus only on part of the Buddha's career, typically from birth to enlightenment (excluding his ministry and death). Although a few Sanskrit texts remain, notably the *Buddhacarita*, *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu*, the bulk of the material is in Chinese; Volumes 3 and 4 of the Taishō edition of the East Asian canon contain numerous biographical scriptures, the oldest one translated in 197 AD. How closely these texts follow Indian source texts is not clear, though comparison with the remaining Sanskrit texts shows a high degree of faithfulness.

But there is another category of texts, not discussed by Lamotte, that it is also very useful to consider: completely new renditions made in China.[1] From the sixth century onwards, a number of texts appear that were composed by Chinese monks:

1. *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 (*Genealogy of the Śākyas*), T 2040; K 1047; Compiled by Sengyou (445-518) of the Liang (502-557)

[1] As far as I am aware, no studies have yet been made of these texts; Arthur Link wrote a very interesting article on Sengyou's life and works, yet among his works focuses almost exclusively on the *Chu sanzang jing*, devoting only a few lines to the *Shijia pu* (Link, 26). The work is also briefly mentioned in Sonya Lee's *Surviving Nirvana* (Lee 94-96).

2. *Shijia shipu* 釋迦氏譜 (*Clan genealogy of the Śākyas*), T 2041; K 1049; Compiled either by Sengyou of the Liang or [more likely] by Daoxuan (596-667) of the Tang in 665
3. *Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方志 (*Gazetteer of the Śākyas*), T 2088; K 1048; Compiled by Daoxuan of the Tang in 650.[2]

Obviously these were compiled because it was felt that the Indian biographies lacked something, so it can be surmised that these biographies address specifically Chinese concerns: indeed, one finds that they introduce elements of Chinese Buddhist tradition, such as the dating of the Buddha's life according to events described in Chinese records.[3] The first two, as can be seen from the titles, are essentially "genealogies," studies of the Buddha's ancestors, both historically – from the first ancestor to his father – and mythically/spiritually, i.e., his relation to other Buddhas and the succession to his teachings by his disciples. An interesting aspect of these works is that they were written by monks with a keen interest in the *vinaya*.

In what appears to be a next step, these sinicized biographies were popularized (or rewritten for a different audience); the earliest such example I have found is Wang Bo's *Shijia rulai chengdao yinghua shiji ji* 釋迦如來成道[應化事蹟]記 (*Record of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni's enlightenment (and factual accounts of his miraculous transformation)*). As the title indicates, it is also a short biography of the Buddha, in 2034 characters (Lesbre, 70). Not much can be ascertained about the author or the text. The meager biographical details about Wang Bo 王勃 reveal that he was a very talented literatus who fell afoul of Emperor Gaozong (r. 649-683) after writing a satirical piece about the princes, and died early, aged 28 or 29.[4] His exact relation to Buddhism is not clear, but like many Tang scholars he may well have been a Buddhist in private. In any case, he wrote several pieces for Buddhist monasteries, mainly in Sichuan.[5] According to one tradition, this record

[2]Information based on Lancaster and Park. T stands for the Taishō Tripitaka compiled in Japan in the early twentieth century, and K for the Tripitaka Koreana, compiled in 1237-1248.

[3]For example, Daoxuan works the persecution of Buddhism in China into his account to illustrate the idea that the dharma was in its last phase. See Chen, 20. (citing T. 2088.51.973c).

[4]See the biographies collected in Lin Hetian, 285-289; according to the biographical essay by He Lintian in the preface, Wang's dates are 650-684.

[5]Mainly in the Zizhou and Yizhou circuits. The connection with Sichuan is not clear, but the following can be gleaned:
(1) According to Chen Huaiyu, p. 50 n. 70:
This footnote deals with Wang Bo's inscriptions for monasteries, notably two in Sichuan; e.g.

of the Buddha's life was composed for the Lingguang temple 靈光寺 when he was military attaché in Guozhou – it was carved on stone in the temple compound. However, this record is full of inconsistencies and cannot be taken at face value (He Lintian, 264, 267 n. 2). Also, it is very different in nature from the pieces he wrote for other temples.

Even though the piece's origin is not clear (e.g. whether it was commissioned or whether he wrote it for himself), there is some evidence about how it gained traction. In one edition of this text, very detailed annotations are added by the monk Daocheng 道誠.[6] The text by Wang Bo is an extremely terse overview of the Buddha's career; some events are described merely by the name of the locality where they took place. Therefore, Daocheng's comments (he lived ca. 1019), are very useful in helping to decipher Wang Bo's record.

Wang Bo's record together with Daocheng's commentary ultimately contributed to one of the most influential Chinese biographies of the Buddha, the *Shishi yuanliu* 釋氏源流 (*The origins and development of the Śākyas*). This was apparently the work of a monk called Baocheng 寶成, originally from the Ningbo region and working at the Baoen-si in Nanjing around 1425, when the work was published. All this can be gleaned from a short colophon found at the end of the first part of this edition (Ch'oe); no other information is available about this monk or his work. However, it can probably be explained against the background of the rapidly developing publishing world in this part of China; around the same time, illustrated books about Confucius' life appeared (Murray), so that there was clearly a demand for didactic, comprehensive works that could be read by a wider audience. The connection with Wang Bo's record is clear both from the fact that it is reprinted in editions of the *Shishi yuanliu*, and from the fact that the latter uses many phrases from Daocheng's commentary.

But the main feature of the *Shishi yuanliu* is that it neatly divides the narrative into 200 sections, with illustrations, each of a key event; the text consists mainly of citations from the earliest biographic scriptures. In a second edition of the text in 1486 the material is expanded to 400 sections: roughly half deal with the Buddha's life, and the other half with key people and events in the later history of Buddhism,

"*Yizhou Mianzhuxian Wudushan Jinghi* [sic; should be *Jinghui*] *si bei*," in *Wang Zi'an ji zhu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 1995), 461-474. His dates are given as 650-676.
(2) Timothy Wai Keung Chan gives some more background but no information on his attitude to Buddhism (his research does mention Wang Bo's visit to Sichuan, where he visited some monasteries).

[6] Wang Bo, 147-173. This is most likely based on the Zokuzō edition.

mainly in China.[7] This work thus represents the culmination of biographies of the Buddha in China, preserving the main themes of the life story as developed from the first "incomplete" biographies in India, but integrating Chinese themes and expanding the narrative so that Chinese (and even Korean: this work also includes biographies of the Korean monks Ŭisang (625-702) and Wŏnhyo (617-686)) Buddhist history is also included. Korean attempts at creating a biography of the Buddha can best be understood against this sinitic background, but also show their own creative development.

The earliest Korean biography: author and background

The *Sŏkka yŏrae haengjŏk song* 釋迦如來行蹟頌 (*Ode to the Acts of the Tathāgata Śākya[muni]*) was authored by the Koryŏ monk Mugi 無寄 around 1328. Unfortunately virtually nothing is known about this monk; all the information we have is to be found in the editions of this work, notably in the supplementary material such as forewords, postscripts and colophons. All editions first of all contain an introduction (*sŏ* 序) by the official Yi Suk-ki 李叔琪, a drafter of royal correspondence and official of the senior third rank in the Royal Secretariat.[8] This introduction, dated 1330, has the following to say about the work's author:

> Now Mr. Muk, a person from Mt Sihŭng,[9] whose personal name is Mugi, is a rustic person not given to ostentation, and this appearance is a reflection of his mind. In his younger days he traveled to Mt. Tiantai [Korean: Ch'ŏnt'ae], concentrating his energies on vacuity. He personally drafted the *Acts of Tathāgata*, composing it in five-syllable [couplets], followed by comments.[10]

[7] On the histories of these editions, see Ch'oe Yŏnsik's article.

[8] No biographical information about him is available: his name does not even appear in the *Koryŏsa* (*History of the Koryŏ dynasty*, 1451). He is known however as the author of three inscriptions, all dated to the period 1325-1330s. Two are short epitaphs for other officials, Cho Yŏn-su (1278-1325) and Kim Sŭng-yong (1268-1329), most likely composed in the years of their death, and one is a stele for the Yogacāra monk Misu (state preceptor Chajŏng, 1240-1327), erected in 1342 at Pŏpchu-sa. From this we know that Yi Suk-ki must have been regarded as one of the leading literati in the period 1325-1330.

[9] Sihŭng 始興: the only locality with this name I could find is a satellite city of Seoul, about 10 km. south of the city. But I have not been able to find any information confirming either that there is a mountain of this name; or that the locality had the same name in Koryŏ.

[10] From the edition in the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* (Seoul: Tongguk taehakkyo,1990), 6.484b12-15 [hereinafter HPC].

This introduction is followed by another introduction, this one by Mugi, who identifies himself as "Mugi, a Ch'ŏnt'ae scholar in the final [days of the law] from Puam [hermitage]". This introduction is dated 1328, which we can take as the year he finished this work. It is a postscript, however, that contains the most detailed information and ties together the few snippets from the introductions. The postscript (*pal* 跋) was written by the "śramana Ki from Paengnyŏn-sa on Mandŏk-san, on the eighth of the second month, [1330]." On Mugi, he writes:

> Now the elder Mugi from Puam took refuge with a disciple of the fourth patriarch of Paengnyŏn-sa, Ch'ŏnch'aek (state preceptor Chinjŏng, ca. 1206-1293), named Ian ... He tonsured his head and donned the monastic robes, and took Unmuk 雲默 as his dharma name. He mastered all the writings of his school, and passed the monastic exam with the top rank. He gained in reputation as abbot of Kuram [temple], and walked high up the road of fame. One morning [however] he spat it all out, discarding [fame] like an old shoe. He traveled to famous mountains such as Kŭmgang and Odae-san, and finally arrived at Sihŭng-san, where he built himself a hermitage to dwell. Till late he intoned the *Lotus sūtra*, invoked Amitābha, painted Buddhas and copied scriptures; this was his daily activity, and thus he spent twenty years. With his remaining energy he searched through the Buddhist scriptures and the writings of the patriarchs, and composed his *Odes on the Acts* with notes.[11]

Thus we know that, although mostly identified as Mugi, his monastic name was actually Unmuk (abbreviated as "Muk" by Yi Suk-ki). Although one author identifies him as a "monk of the Tiantai school, active in the Hangzhou region,"[12] he was clearly Korean. Possibly he went to China, which was certainly possible in this era, when Koryŏ was dominated by the Mongol Yuan dynasty, and many people could travel from Koryŏ to other places in the Yuan empire. Most importantly, he was part of the Korean Ch'ŏnt'ae school, founded by Ŭich'ŏn (1055-1101), but especially the tradition started by Yose at Mandŏk-san.

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[11] HPC 6.539c15-24.

[12] Lesbre, p. 70. The confusion probably stems from Yi Sukki's intro, which says he traveled to Mt. Tiantai, not too far from Hangzhou; yet the author of this article also claims the introduction was written in 1278, but I could not find any evidence for such a date. The reference is to the *Shijia rulai xingji song* (*Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō*, 1-2 *yi* -3-2, pp. 104-122), clearly the same text as the one discussed here.

Yose 了世 (1163-1245), also known under his posthumous title Wŏnmyo kuksa, is especially famous as the founder of the "White Lotus Society" (Paengnyŏn kyŏlsa 白蓮結社) at Mandŏk-san (near Kangjin, South Chŏlla). Although he had become a monk in the Korean Ch'ŏnt'ae school, during the turmoil of the Military Period (1170-1256) he seems to have become swept up in Chinul's reform movement, based on the formation of societies for the practice of *prajñā* and *samādhi*, but mainly under a Sŏn (Zen) umbrella. After a while, however, he returned to a Ch'ŏnt'ae temple, and in 1208, during a retreat in a hermitage at Wŏlch'ul-san, he had a realization to the effect that only through a profound understanding of the Tiantai teachings could one get rid of the manifold afflictions ("diseases," karmic actions). From then on he started to lay the foundations of a devotional movement based mainly on Tiantai traditions: in 1216 he organized the White Lotus Society at Mandŏk-san with the help of local lay supporters, and in 1221 another White Lotus Society at Namwŏn; in 1232 he launched the Samantabhadra ritual (普賢道場), which was to become the main focus of devotional practice. (Ch'ae 1991)

It is impossible here to unravel all the aspects of this movement; suffice it to say that though the name and soteriological framework were derived from Huiyuan's famous White Lotus Society, more direct influences were Siming Zhili (960-1028) and Yongming Yanshou (d. 975); the actual Samantabhadra ritual combined Tiantai theology, *Lotus Sūtra* devotion, Pure Land incantation, and confession/penitence rites. It was continued after Yose's death in 1245 by his disciple Ch'ŏnin (1205-1248), and after his premature death by another disciple, Ch'ŏnch'aek (1206-1293?). Ch'ŏnch'aek was known as the fourth patriarch of Mandŏk-san, and it was through one of his disciples, Ian 而安, that Mugi was connected to this tradition.[13] However, since we know so little about his life, we cannot exclude the influences of other traditions, although he was undoubtedly a committed Ch'ŏnt'ae monk, as will become clear when we look at his work.

Acts of the Buddha

As already described in the introduction of Yi Suk-ki, the *Sŏkka yŏrae haengjŏk song* is a narrative poem, interspersed with comments by the author. To be pre-

[13] Although we are relatively well informed about Yose, Ch'ŏnin, and Ch'ŏnch'aek, the first, second and fourth patriarchs, virtually nothing is known about the third patriarch, or about Mugi's master Ian. For a brief overview of the problem of the Mandŏk-sa patriarchate, see Hŏ 1986, 277-78.

cise, it consists of 776 verses,[14] and refers to more than 90 sources (Yi 1977). The poem is regularly interrupted by blocks of commentary; since comments (or notes) usually pick up on a particular theme,[15] these interruptions can also be interpreted as marking subdivisions of the text, and thus we can divide it into 66 separate sections. If we look at the main themes of fascicle 1 (which deals with the Buddha's life), we have the following outline:

Sections 1-12: cosmology; 11-12 deal with the creation of the world, and finish with the emphasis on how rare it is for a Buddha to come into this world
Sections 13-15: The Buddha's family, his birth
Sections 16-17: death of his mother, prowess in youth
Sections 18-21: four encounters, vow to leave household
Sections 22-25: escape from palace, years of arduous practice
Sections 26-36: enlightenment, beginning of ministry, five periods of teaching, marvelous efficacy of supreme teaching
Sections 37-44: final teachings, *nirvāṇa*, cremation, distribution of relics, King Aśoka
Sections 45-47: continuation and future of the teachings

This is the content of fasc. 1, which deals with the Buddha's life; fasc. 2 covers themes such as the transmission to China, the end-of-dharma timeframe, the need for meritorious action, pure land teachings, and what constitutes correct practice for monks.

Thus it is immediately obvious that the story of the Buddha's life occupies only a very small portion of this work: for example, the part from his family to the four encounters only occupies 50 verses. This excerpt illustrates how terse the narrative is:

Seven days after giving birth,
    his mother died and was reborn in Trayastriṃśaḥ.
His aunt greatly loved the Way,

[14] According to Mugi's own statement: HPC 6.485b3. I counted only 642 five-character verse lines; no rhyme seems to be used.

[15] "If in the verses the meaning is not apparent, then I have added a note in the main text below the verse." HPC 6.485b3.

she brought him up without sparing any effort.
At the age of seven his knowledge surpassed that of all men,
and among the various arts there was none he did not master.
Then they gathered all the maidens of the Śākya clan,
And chose one among the myriad candidates.
Her name was Yaśodharā,
And she was perfect and peerless in every respect.
But the prince, although betrothed to her,
Had no worldly thoughts whatsoever.
One day he announced to his father the king
That he wanted to see what was outside the four gates.
On the road he saw four kinds of scenes;
These are life, old age, sickness and death.

While Wang Bo's *Shijia rulai chengdao ji* is similarly brief in its treatment of key events,[16] at least the whole poem is about the Buddha; here only about 130 verses, from sections 13 to 27, deal exclusively with events in the Buddha's life, and are similar to themes found in other biographies. The introduction, on the other hand, deals with Buddhist cosmology, and after the enlightenment of the Buddha, the author basically turns to an extended discussion of the *panjiao* 判教 (classification of the doctrines) theory, explaining his ministry through the Chinese sectarian theory that the Buddha's ministry developed along five distinct stages of increasing sophistication, culminating in the *Lotus Sūtra*, the main text of the Tiantai/Ch'ŏnt'ae school. Thus, although sections 28-36 deal with the Buddha's ministry, they do so through a heavy sectarian lens, focusing on Chinese scholastic concerns rather than an actual reconstruction of this part of the Buddha's life. Sections 37-44 shift the focus back to the figure of the Buddha for an account of his final *nirvāṇa*. The second fascicle starts with a brief account of the history of Buddhism in China, but soon veers into a discussion of certain points that were

[16] Comparison with Wang Bo's biographical poem shows very little overlap; the corresponding section of the Buddha's life is given as follows:

Sometimes he acted like a child, sometimes he practiced the five bright studies.
As for his training in the martial arts, the arrow pagoda and the arrow well still exist.
As for his penetrating power, the elephant traces and the elephant pit are still there.
He received the pleasure of [carnal] desire for ten years.
Presently he went sightseeing outside the four gates, and took pleasure in [the sight of] a *śrāmaṇera*, but loathed [the sight of] an old person, a diseased person and a dead body.

obviously of special interest to Mugi, such as the importance of meritorious actions and correct behavior and practice in the end-of-dharma age.

Most developments that we see here can be said to be further elaborations on themes already introduced in previous works – for example, the cosmology part is also present in Daoxuan's biography of the Buddha, as are elements of sectarian agendas. Though Mugi provides extensive notes that discuss problems in the biography, most of these are not original, but fairly standard explanations of problems such as the long gap between the dates of Rāhula's conception and birth. A detailed analysis of the biographical motifs selected and Mugi's notes would undoubtedly prove valuable for a study of the development of the Buddha's biography in East Asia, but this is beyond the scope of this paper. What can be ascertained from this superficial look at the structure and contents of Mugi's work, however, is that obviously he had other concerns besides the mere recounting of the biography. Those other concerns, from Tiantai theology to methods of practice for lay people, are so prominent that one can wonder why he uses the biography of the Buddha as a vehicle rather than setting them out in a treatise. Obviously it was important to convey these through the vehicle of the Buddha's life story, but why?

The most obvious place to look for reasons is in Mugi's own statements regarding his motivations. In his introduction, he emphasizes human beings' inability to realize their oneness with the Buddha, and the extreme charity of the Buddha's decision to take on a human form to help them realize it. Despite the fact that the Buddha lived "2030 years" before his own time,[17] in a place "68,000 leagues" removed from Korea, yet the Buddha's life still made its impact felt. But the traces were too faint, and "not having personally listened to the sermons in India … having been born in the calamitous latter days [of the law], many keep the appearance of a monk yet in conduct go completely against the precepts. Thus, to correct these deviations, one has to learn the doctrine and understand the Buddha's conversions, penetrate to the heart and insides of the Buddha." Just as a secular person has to know where his parents come from, a follower of the Buddha has to know all the facts about the Buddha's life.[18]

[17] Since this was written ca. 1328, Mugi thus supposed the Buddha lived around 702 BC. More conventionally, Chinese and Korean Buddhists of his time held that Buddha was born in the 24th year of King Zhao of Zhou (958 BC). See Zürcher, 272-3.

[18] Paraphrased from the introduction, HPC 6.484c5-485b9.

At the end of the work, he takes up this thread again, lamenting his own failings and lashing out at all the abuses perpetrated by fellow monks:

> Now as for Mugi, although he dabbles in the monastic vocation, and proceeds with its practice, his vocation to keep the precepts is deficient, his meditation is deficient… How can [I] not be ashamed before Buddha and Heaven! [However,] Vimalakīrti says, 'One cannot save oneself from one's own disease, but one can save others from their diseases.'[19]

Despite his surprising self-criticism, this confession seems to be aimed at diverting others' criticisms, for he insists (somewhat disingenuously) that despite his own shortcomings, he can still "save" others. In fact, he continues with a stringent castigation of monastic malpractice in his time:

> …on the pretext of Buddhist rituals, in groups they descend on villages and households, begging everywhere, but their only desire is to acquire much; how would they have the thought of benefiting others! When they have amassed for themselves, they indulge together without degree, and call it 'managing good things.' [note:] This is the karma for becoming a hungry ghost.[20]

In fact, in one edition of this work,[21] the final part is added on in an expanded version as an "Admonition" (*Kyŏngch'aek* 警策), which further underlines the purpose of this work as a warning to his fellow monks. Two aspects in particular stand out in this: first, the literal interpretation of the precepts and the emphasis on retribution (including rebirth in hell), and second, the emphasis on the benefactors, the laity: donations accepted or solicited out of greed are a very serious breach of morality, which will lead to many evil rebirths.

Of course one cannot reduce the whole work to these themes: as indicated, it elaborates on Tiantai doctrine, but besides these doctrinal themes it is also a vast compendium of Buddhist knowledge and lore, elaborating on countless issues that undoubtedly were important to both monks and laity of the time (and are still relevant). Yet the recurring theme of upholding the precepts and retribution is unmistakable, starting with the beginning of the biography, which emphasizes

[19] HPC 6.538c22-539a4.

[20] HPC 6.539a12-15.

[21] Edition privately owned by Min Yŏnggyu, no date. See HPC 6.541c, note 1.

the rarity of a Buddha coming into the world; elsewhere the difficulty of gaining a human rebirth is emphasized.[22] The message behind this is clear: don't squander such rare opportunities through greed and selfishness! Not surprisingly, the part of the commentary which deals with a section on donations and meritorious action is the longest.[23]

Conclusion

This paper is based on an as yet superficial reading of the text, not an in-depth textual analysis. The exact "lineage" for the text should be examined in greater detail; its basic material is obviously indebted to the Chinese renditions/translations of Indian biographies such as the *Buddhacarita*, though its indebtedness to the works by Sengyou and Daoxuan should also be acknowledged.[24] Most of the research on this work that I am aware of deals with its Ch'ŏnt'ae ideology (Yi 1977), its ideology of reconciliation with Sŏn (Yi 2000), or its relation to the later Han'gŭl biographies (Sin). Yet apart from its sectarian/scholastic agenda, it clearly has a deep concern with the precepts that transcends Mugi's school and seems closer in spirit to the "Vinaya school" monks Sengyou and Daoxuan, in whose works we find adumbrations of his favorite themes.

We might also look closer to his environment for inspiration: undoubtedly the actual corruption of monks in his time may have been a direct cause, though we should be cautious with stock allegations of corruption. During his time, the phrase "silk prior, gauze master" circulated to criticize corruption in the procuring of promotion; and pressure was mounting from a gradually reinvigorated Confucian elite. At the same time, the emphasis on retribution and the use of the phrase "retribution of good and evil deeds" (善惡業報, HPC 6.539b) also reminds one of the *Sutra on divining the retribution of good an evil actions* (*Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* 占察善惡業報經, T 839), a book which was introduced to Korea shortly after its creation in the late 6th century, and was quite influential, notably in the southwest region of Korea around Kŭmsan-sa, where the key figure in its practice was the monk Chinp'yo (fl. 8th century). Though we do not find the same strong emphasis on expiation in Mugi's work, which rather emphasizes virtues such as giving and frugality, yet I think we cannot discount the influence of the tradition of maintaining the "pure precepts" that was passed on in the area

22 HPC 6.518c.
23 HPC 522b-529b. Various kinds of meritorious actions and actors are described in great detail.
24 And perhaps also the *Fozu tongji*; see Chŏng.

around Kŭmsan-sa in the southwest.[25] Also, it is perhaps no coincidence that two years before this work was written, in 1326, the Indian monk Zhikong 指空 (Śūnyādiśya) came to Koryŏ, where one of his most notable legacies was the conferral of precepts and instruction on upholding them (Hŏ 1997, 46, 77-89, Waley).

Thus this work is much more than a biography of the Buddha; but while using the biography for its own agenda, it is also important for reminding us of the perennial inspiration of the Buddha's life story and its centrality as a call to action for all believers.

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[25] Note that Yi Suk-ki, who wrote the introduction to this work, also wrote an inscription for a monk at Pŏpchu-sa, which belonged to the same tradition (Yogācāra) as nearby Kŭmsan-sa. See Puggioni, 88; for the spirit of penitence that marked this school, see Puggioni, 101-103.

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Book Reviews

Greater Magadha: Studies in the Culture of Early India. By Johannes Bronkhorst (Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Two, India, Vol. 19). pp. xx, 420, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2007

Professor Bronkhorst's book is a valuable contribution that will stimulate debate among scholars and students and encourage them to re-examine ideas about the nature of early Indian culture that are often taken for granted. However, not all scholars will agree with his conclusions. *Greater Magadha* largely consists of Bronkhorst's arguments in favour of his belief that in early India the northwest was the centre of a Vedic culture that was primarily concerned with ritual performance and magical thought and that this culture was distinct from and diametrically opposed to that of the northeast, Bronkhorst's Greater Magadha, which was primarily concerned with world renunciation and empirical thought. Bronkhorst argues that Buddhism, Jainism and the *śramaṇa* movements in general developed out of the specific culture of Greater Magadha, as did the belief in karma and retribution, which subsequently entered mainstream Vedic culture. There is not space in this short review to address Bronkhorst's arguments with the detailed response that they deserve; its purpose is rather to present an overview of the strengths and weaknesses of the book.

The reader of *Greater Magadha* would probably begin by wondering what was the actual geographical extent of Greater Magadha and within what chronological limits was its *floruit*. These are questions that Bronkhorst does not address with sufficient exactitude. For Bronkhorst the entire region east of the confluence of Ganges and the Yamuna was Greater Magadha, and he states that "it serves no purpose... to define exact limits for it". Furthermore, as he admits, Greater Magadha is a term invented by himself and the name Mahāmagadha does not appear to be found in ancient Indian literature. "Greater Magadha" is thus an artificial

construct, one that can be seen as a strategy which enables Bronkhorst to present a wide range of disparate evidence in support of an hypothesis which is basically a simple polarity. But without grounding in a historical context of time and place, the evidence can do little to establish the central thesis.

A study that gave closer attention to geographical particularities and chronological change would doubtless reveal a more complex reality. It is certainly true that the *śramaṇa* ethic was transmitted through the expansion of Magadhan power and prestige and that it received state support under the Mauryan empire, but the *śramaṇa* movements seem not to have originated within the borders of the historic *janapada* of Magadha, since both the Buddha and Mahāvīra appear to have spent their formative periods in countries whose centres were well to the northwest of the historic *janapada* of Magadha. The most important of these centres was probably Kosala, whose more westerly situation would have opened it to Āryan culture at a period earlier than were the eastern *janapada*s, including Magadha. Kosala seems to have become subject to Magadha during the lifetime of the Buddha, but it could well have happened that *Kosala capta ferum victorem cepit*[1] and that Kosalan culture, having initially developed as a result of an interaction between Vedic and non-Vedic cultures, was absorbed by Magadha and was subsequently exported along with Magadhan power.

One feels that Bronkhorst's simple hypothesis leads him to develop arguments in its support that are in places too complex to be convincing. A central part of his argument is that the teachings of the Buddha do not presuppose knowledge of the Vedas and earliest Upaniṣads. For example he argues, *contra* Richard Gombrich, that the passages in the Pāli canon in which the Buddha appears to satirise the Ṛg Vedic *Hymn to the Cosmic Man*, the *puruṣa sūkta* RV.x.90, do not preserve the actual response of the Buddha to the social hierarchy that the hymn seeks to validate. Bronkhorst argues that the cosmic man was a well-known theme of Indian mythology so it is not surprising that there are references to it in the Pāli; he seems to be suggesting that the passages entered the canon at some late though unspecified date. A simpler explanation would be that the hymn was already well known during the period of the Buddha's life and that, as argued by Gombrich, the pas-

[1] Meaning "Captive Magadha took captive her wild conqueror". I have adapted the Roman poet Horace's *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit* (*Epistulae* II 1). Horace was making the point that the Roman conquest of Greece enabled Greek culture to spread throughout Rome. The same may have been true of Magadha and Kosala.

sages preserve the Buddha's characteristically satirical response to Brahmanical claims.

One serious weakness of *Greater Magadha* is the lack of an adequate assessment of developments in material culture. One important development, which must have had an impact on social relationships in ancient India, was the use of coined money. Bronkhorst does not discuss the evidence provided by numismatics in his section on urbanization, even though coinage in India is a key example of the adoption of a concept that originated outside Brahmanical culture. The earliest Indian coins were produced in Kabul and Gandhāra in the early fourth century BC at a time when these regions were part of the Achaemenid empire, and shortly afterwards coins were being produced in large quantities in the countries bordering the Ganges valley. There is evidence to suggest that the earliest coins of the eastern regions were produced in Kosala. Early Indian coins are now known as punch-marked coins, since they are typically formed from pieces of silver, scyphate or flat, cut from larger sheets, and usually bear from one to five symbols, some of which clearly have a religious significance, stamped separately onto one side of their surface. Punch-marked coins were being manufactured and were circulating in the area Bronkhorst calls Greater Magadha perhaps no later than twenty-five years after the death of the Buddha. Coined money facilitates the redistribution of wealth and it may be that one of its original purposes in India was to enable kings to make payments to Brahmins in return for their performance of Vedic sacrifices. Coined money also facilitated donations by merchants to the Buddhist *saṅgha*, as is evidenced by visual representations from Buddhist monuments dating perhaps from the second century BC. Furthermore, an increased production of coinage may well imply an increase in exchange transactions that are not based on an asymmetrical hierarchal relationship between giver and receiver, but imply equality, since the participants' relationship is often temporary and is determined solely by their willingness to give and accept money in the form of coins. Money facilitates anonymous exchange and thus enables its possessor and receiver to enter into relationships that are based on choice rather than on ascribed status. The growing availability of coined money may well have had a profound influence on social relationships and cultural expression in ancient India.[2] No study of the culture of early India should ignore the potential of the

[2] Richard Seaford has discussed these questions with regard to the Greek world in his *Money and the Early Greek Mind: Homer, Philosophy, Tragedy*, Cambridge; CUP, 2004. I hope to join Professor Seaford in a study of the significance of coined money for early Indian society.

evidence provided by numismatics.

Greater Magadha has its origins in papers previously published by Professor Bronkhorst over a number of years, and the book's subtitle, *Studies in Early Indian Culture*, is an accurate description of its contents and structure. The emphasis of the studies is primarily literary and there is little discussion of social and political history. Bronkhorst demands fairly rigorous attention from his reader; his material is densely presented, and this reviewer felt that he could have provided more signposts to enable the reader to follow his arguments. For instance, it would have been useful to have a summary of the evidence at the end of the important section on chronology. Furthermore, the material in the eight appendices, which fill ninety pages of text, could have been more closely integrated into the main body of the book. Overall, *Greater Magadha* is a quarry to be mined rather than the presentation of an argument to be followed. Bronkhorst's knowledge of the literary sources is profound and his presentation of the literary evidence is exhaustive. On almost every page there are ideas and suggestions that will stimulate debate among scholars and students. The book has great strengths and if this review has concentrated on some of its weaknesses this is by no means to detract from Professor Bronkhorst's achievement. All those with an interest in early India should own a copy of *Greater Magadha*, at least in its readily available e-version, if not in its exorbitantly priced hard-copy version.

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Anālayo: *The Genesis of the Bodhisattva Ideal.* (Hamburg Buddhist Studies 1.) Hamburg: Hamburg University Press. 2010. 178 pp., 12 figures (i.e., b/w illustrations).

A

In this fairly short, handsomely produced book, Bhikkhu Anālayo examines how the term and concept *bodhisatta* are used in the earliest sources. These sources he defines (uncontroversially) as "the discourses found in the four main Pāli *Nikāya*s, together with material from the fifth *Nikāya* that may reasonably be held to belong to roughly the same textual stratum (*Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka* and *Suttanipāta*);" also such counterparts to these texts as have been preserved in Sanskrit, Tibetan or (mostly) Chinese. (p.10)

There are three chapters. The first examines what the sources mean by the term *bodhisatta*. The second discusses a Pāli *sutta* in which the former Buddha Kassapa meets the future Buddha Gotama, who thereupon becomes a monk, but takes no vow to become a Buddha. The third presents the only case in these texts in which a bodhisattva receives a prediction that he will succeed in fulfilling his vow to attain Buddhahood. The book makes fruitful use throughout of Chinese and other parallel texts, showing how the concept familiar to us from the Mahāyāna was built up by stages, perhaps over as long as several centuries (though the chronology is not discussed).

Given how important the bodhisattva later became in Buddhism, it is astonishing that no one before has focussed so methodically on how the concept originated. Anālayo gives us his answers simply, clearly and convincingly. He also presents his material in an intelligent way, which many would do well to emulate. The main text, which is in clear large type, consists of everything essential to his argument, but no more; it can (and should) be read by non-specialists in order to learn about this important strand in the early development of Buddhism. This main text probably has less than half the words in the book. The footnotes, on the other hand, give all references both primary and secondary, and discuss side issues, thus giving specialists everything they need in order to scrutinise and to build on this work.

Both in content and in presentation I find the book entirely admirable, and can only urge that it be read. I would like, however to use this context as an opportunity to present a couple of further observations of my own on the topic.

B

It may have irked readers that in the above lines I seem to oscillate between the Sanskrit word *bodhisattva* and its Pali equivalent *bodhisatta*. The Sanskrit form has become virtually a naturalised loan word in European languages and is the obvious form to use when referring to Buddhism as a whole. However, it seems sure that the term originated in Pali (or in a form of Middle Indo-Aryan very like Pali) as *bodhisatta*, so that must be the appropriate form to use when discussing the word's origin. In general usage, a bodhisattva is a future Buddha, and to this the Mahāyāna adds that it is a nobler goal than just attaining nirvana and freedom from rebirth oneself, and that a bodhisattva is concerned primarily with helping others to attain enlightenment; some forms of the Mahāyāna (I believe in the Far Eastern tradition) even go so far as to teach that a bodhisattva refuses to attain nirvana while unenlightened beings still exist. This contrasts, Anālayo shows, with the *bodhisatta* in the early discourses. "Passages that reflect his motivation indicate that Gautama's chief concern was to find liberation for himself. His compassionate concern for others appears to have arisen only as a consequence of his awakening, instead of having motivated his quest for liberation." (p.51).

What, then, did the term at first mean or refer to? In the Pali Nikāyas, Anālayo tells us, it "is used predominantly by the Buddha Gotama to refer to his pre-awakening experiences, the time when he was 'the bodhisattva' par excellence. Such usage occurs as part of a standard formulaic phrase, according to which a particular event or reflection occurred 'before (my) awakening, when still being an unawakened bodhisattva', *pubbe va (me) sambodhā anabhisambuddhassa bodhisattass' eva sato* ..." (p.15).

Anālayo discusses the word *bodhisatta* in this passage at some length. Here it refers only to Gotama himself, and Anālayo makes it overwhelmingly probable that that was its earliest usage. But what exactly does it *mean*? A long footnote (fn. 18, p.19) is devoted to this question and the views of many scholars are adduced. It seems that majority opinion has come round to accepting a view already found (alongside others, of course) in the Pāli commentaries: that *satta* here is derived from Sanskrit *sakta*, "attached"; so *bodhisatta* would mean "attached to enlightenment". Some have objected that the Buddha, even before he became enlightened, could not have been "attached" to anything, but I find this utterly unconvincing, a typical example of the literalistic clinging to words which the Buddha condemns in the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* (MN *sutta* 21).

I have been strengthened in my skepticism by Anālayo himself. I had written to him on this topic: "I am reminded of many a conversation I have had with pupils when introducing Buddhism. I say, 'The Buddha tells us to achieve Enlightenment by not desiring anything.' Usually someone objects: 'But are you not then desiring Enlightenment?' I reply: 'That's OK. Get rid of all other desires first. Then you don't have to get rid of the desire for Enlightenment, because that has taken place automatically.'" Answering, Anālayo agreed: "Desire for the goal is a necessary requirement that through attaining its object dissolves itself." He then, most helpfully, drew my attention to *Sutta-nipāta* 365: *nibbānapadābhipatthayāno*[1] "longing for the state of nirvana", and to SN V, 272-3, where Ānanda explains that it is through desire (*chanda*) that one conquers desire, because when one desires a goal and then achieves it, that desire naturally subsides. (So I have long been following Ānanda without knowing it.)

So what about *bodhisattass' eva sato*? I believe that *eva* should never be ignored in translation, though it is not possible to give an English word to which it corresponds. It gives emphasis, which is easier to convey in spoken than in written English. (Some European languages are richer in suitable particles, such as German *ja* and *doch*.) Colloquial English has "actually", but "when I was actually attached to Enlightenment" sounds too literal; "actually determined on" would be better. In more formal English "in fact" sounds better than "actually"; so I offer "when I was not Enlightened but in fact determined on Enlightenment." Whether or not exactly these words find favour, it is clear to me that it is anachronistic here to translate *bodhisatta* as a noun; there was not yet any such category of living being. Moreover, this interpretation of the phrase paves the way for the idea that the *bodhisatta* has taken a vow to achieve Enlightenment.

To this positive conclusion let me append a further argument against the interpretation which led to the coinages *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* in Sanskrit. Several meanings for *sattva* can be found in a Sanskrit lexicon. In both words, tradition makes *sattva* bear the meaning "being", usually "living being", which is common in Sanskrit, and the Pāli word *satta* derived from that is indeed also common. But Pali has several homonyms *satta*, derived from different Sanskrit words.

To call the Buddha some kind of "living being" does not sound particularly complimentary. But the main argument against it derives not from decorum but from linguistics. What kind of compound (*samāsa)* would *bodhi-sattva* be? How

[1] This is for *nibbānapadaṃ abhipatthayāno*, for metrical reasons.

would a commentator be able to analyse it in accord with Pāṇinian grammar? The only remotely plausible way I can think of would be to take it as a possessive compound (*bahubbīhi)* and make *sattva* mean "essence", so that the whole would mean "he who has the essence of enlightenment". But in Buddhism *sattva/satta* never means "essence".

On the other hand, Sanskrit *mahā-sattva* and Pāli *mahā-satta* are usually translated "great being". I think this is wrong in a different way. This *is* a possessive compound, at least in origin. Here *sattva* has roughly the meaning given in Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary* as "strength of character", corresponding to Latin *virtus* and old English "virtue"; in modern English probably the best translation would be "character": "of great character".

All this must appear rather technical, but it has a wider interest. Anālayo has traced for us the earliest stages in the evolution of the term *bodhisatta/bodhisattva*. His book falls short of showing the further developments it underwent in the Mahāyāna. Even so, we have here a good example of how a term at the very heart of Buddhist ideology radically changed its meaning and connotations in the early centuries of Buddhist history, and at the heart of this development lay a false back-formation from Pāli (or, if you like, Middle Indo-Aryan) to Sanskrit, which greatly facilitated the word's reinterpretation. As scholars know, but on the whole the wider public does not, there are several other examples of such reinterpretations of key terms, hard to date with any precision but probably arising within a couple of centuries either side of the beginning of the Christian era. What this amounts to, I suggest, is that there was a period in early Buddhism, maybe a century or two after Asoka, when the Buddhist tradition faltered intellectually, perhaps because of a decline in institutional support. By faltering, I mean that the meanings of some key words were forgotten and had to be somehow supplied from what appeared to be their context, a context which itself was more and more understood under the influence of certain trends elsewhere in India religion – in Brahmanism/Hinduism. One can argue about the extent of the changes, but there can at least be no argument about their *direction* when Middle Indo-Aryan was replaced by Sanskrit – certainly not the opposite. This should give the historian of Buddhism much food for thought.

C

The second part of Anālayo's book focuses on the story found in the *Ghaṭīkāra Sutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*,[2] according to which Gotama in a former life met the previous Buddha, Kassapa. This is a strange *sutta* in more ways than one. To begin with, it is the only *sutta* which concerns a former life of Gotama and thus resembles a *Jātaka*.

Here is the story in barest outline. In the time of Kassapa Buddha, two young men, a brahmin and a potter, are friends. They go bathing together. The potter suggests to the brahmin that they go to call on Kassapa, but the latter refuses rudely, using the kind of insulting terms to refer to Kassapa which are familiar elsewhere in the Canon on the lips of brahmins. However, the potter refuses to take no for an answer and ends up by using force in a way which would pollute the Brahmin. "… [T]he young Brahmin finally agrees to come along and thereon gets to hear a discourse from the Buddha Kāśyapa. On their way back home, the young Brahmin expresses his wish to go forth. The potter brings him back to the Buddha Kāśyapa, who at the request of the potter ordains the young Brahmin." (p.73)

The rest of the story consists of an episode which has no direct connection with what precedes. In Vārāṇasī, Kassapa Buddha is visited by the local king and preaches to him. The king invites Kassapa to stay for the rains retreat but the latter refuses. When the king asks if he has another supporter who equals him, Kassapa talks of the potter and tells of how the potter has helped him on other occasions. The king decides to send food to the potter, but the potter declines. The story ends here. The young Brahmin does not reappear.

In the Chinese counterpart to the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta*[3] of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the future Gotama "took his initial vow to become a Buddha when he was a monk under the Buddha Kāśyapa" (p.85). There is however no trace of this in the *Ghaṭīkāra Sutta.*

On the latter, Anālayo justly comments that "the potter is – from the perspective of the Buddha Kāśyapa – a superior lay supporter" to the king. "In fact, throughout the discourse the potter is the main protagonist, exhibiting the exemplary conduct of an ideal lay disciple."(p.74) One might add that the very title of the text ("The Potter Sutta") signals that the potter is the protagonist.

[2] *Sutta* 81, *MN* II, 45-54.

[3] *MN sutta* 123.

Anālayo spends several pages on a judicious analysis of the anomalies raised by this *sutta*, and shows how some other texts set about dealing with them. This is an exemplary illustration of how difficulties (i.e., inconsistencies) in a text lead to a new development.

In my view, however, Anālayo has failed to say one crucial thing. It seems to me extremely probable that the anomalies all arise from one simple fact: that originally it was the young potter, not the young Brahmin, who was identified with the future Gotama. Seen in this light, the caste theme appears as a familiar one. The low-caste person, whose touch will pollute the Brahmin, disregards that tabu and goes ahead in order to help to save his high-caste friend. He is not only a better man than the king, but also than the Brahmin.

Though there are famous old stories based on this theme, such as the *Mātaṅga Jātaka*,[4] versions of which are found in both Buddhist and Jain[5] literature, some monk evidently found the idea of the future Buddha as a low-caste person too much to stomach, and changed the identification. To appreciate how much trouble he caused, read Anālayo's book.

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[4] *Jātaka* 497. The story is well analysed by Justin Meiland in his unpublished Oxford D.Phil thesis "Buddhist values in the Pāli *Jātaka*s, with particular reference to the theme of renunciation", 2003, pp.83 ff. In fn.12, p.84, he writes: "Other stories in which the Bodhisatta is born as a *caṇḍāla* include the *Satadhamma Jātaka* (179), *Chavaka Jātaka* (309), *Amba Jātaka* (474) and *Cittasambhūta Jātaka* (498)."

[5] *Uttarajjhayaṇa Sutta* 12. This is far shorter than the *Jātaka* but some of the verses are almost the same.